

MARTIN CLASSICAL LECTURES

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CHARLES BEEBE MARTIN

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ATTIC VASE-PAINTING

MARTIN CLASSICAL LECTURES

VOLUME III

BY

CHARLES T. SELTMAN



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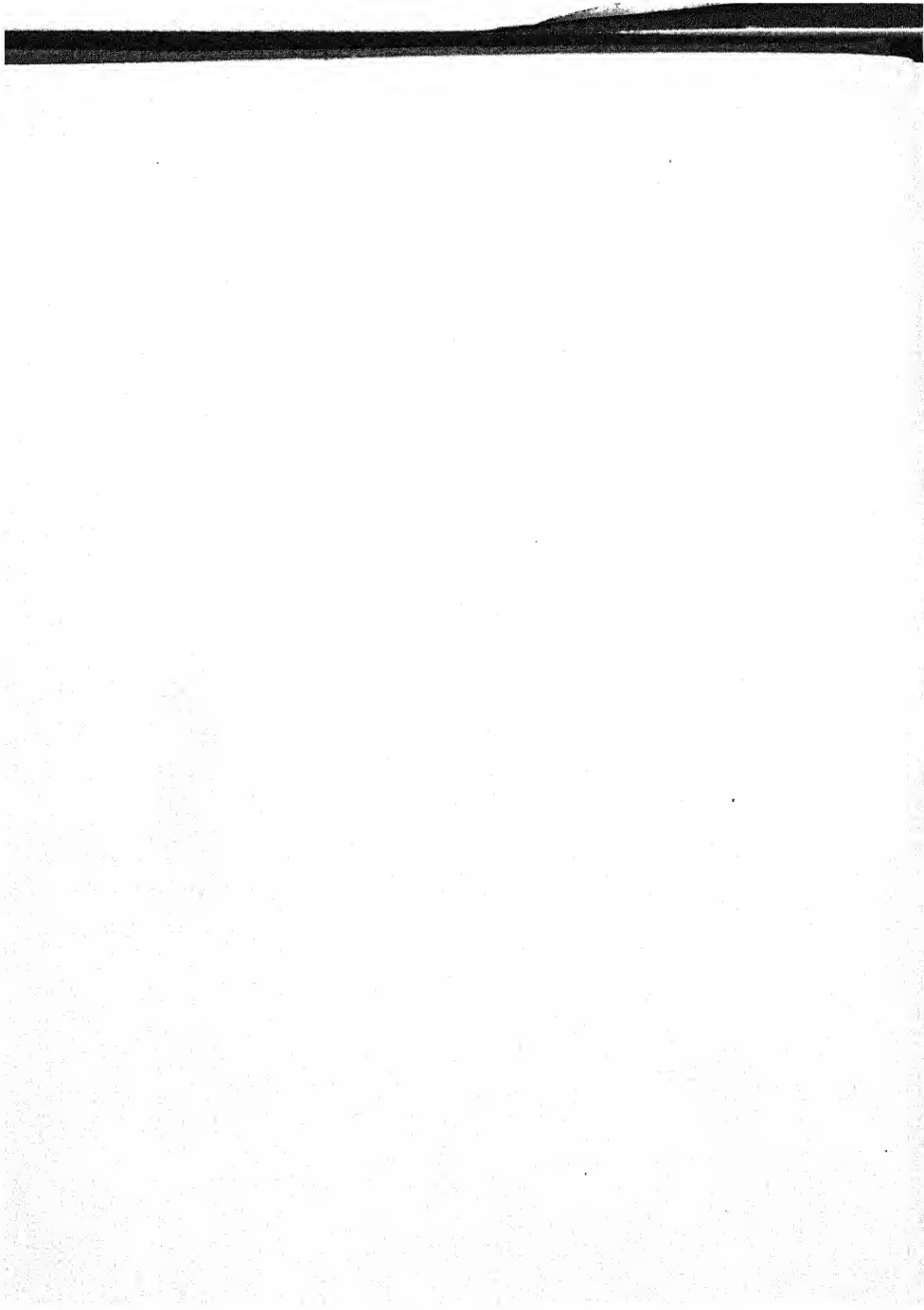
THE MARTIN CLASSICAL LECTURES

VOLUME III

The Martin Foundation, on which these lectures are delivered, was established by his many friends in honor of Charles Beebe Martin, for forty-five years a teacher of classical literature and classical art in Oberlin College

\$2.00

Charles Beebe Martin, D.D., 1838-1913



PREFACE

THE five lectures included in this volume are intended to serve as no more than a brief introduction to the study of the products of the Athenian Kerameikos. In addition, however, they may perhaps lay claim to the making of some small contribution to art criticism, and to the advancing of some fresh hypotheses concerning the interrelation of Athenian art and history.

More than two hundred slides were shown when the lectures were delivered, and it is naturally only a small proportion of these pictures which can be illustrated. Footnotes, however, give references for the remainder; and art students anxious to pursue the subject will find a bibliography of modern works in this volume.

There are inevitably many omissions. The potter's materials and tools, his skill in throwing and firing his wares, salesmanship, transport, the significance of inscriptions and love-names, these things have been barely touched upon or perforce omitted as outside the scope of the lectures, which were concerned with Athenian painting and drawing.

My gratitude must be expressed to the Classical Department of Oberlin College and to Professor Louis E. Lord for the honour conferred on me in the invita-

tion to deliver the Charles Beebe Martin Lectures. Through the generosity of Professor Clarence Ward the Baldwin Fund, by contributing to the Lecture-ship, has made it possible for this publication to be illustrated by plates.

To L. D. Caskey I would express grateful thanks for a set of drawings, selected from those employed in his *Geometry of Greek Vases*, which I have been enabled to reproduce in order to illustrate the vase-shapes described in the Glossary.

There is probably no branch of classical studies wherein a writer or lecturer has to make so large a measure of acknowledgement to a single scholar as in the study of Attic pottery. A. Furtwängler, P. Hartwig, and other critics may have pointed the road and advanced some way along its course, but it is J. D. Beazley who has travelled the whole route; and mapped it. In pure classics the value of a scholar's published work may often be assessed by the test of annotation; and in the realm of classical archaeology it will probably be found that the two works most frequently annotated by keen students will be Head's *Historia Numorum* and Beazley's *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils*. Such is probably the tribute he most appreciates.

It is a pleasure also to express a personal debt of gratitude to him for reading the proofs of this publication, and for numerous valuable suggestions which in almost every case I have gladly adopted.

PREFACE

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Thanks are due to him and to the following for permission to reproduce illustrations: Monsieur A. Merlin in the Musée du Louvre; the Trustees of the British Museum; the German Archæological Institute; the Harvard University Press; the Oxford University Press; the Librairie Champion, Paris; Messrs. F. Bruckmann A. G., Munich; Heinrich Keller, Berlin; and Macmillan and Co., London.

C. T. S.



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ABBREVIATIONS AND SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

- A. J. A.* *American Journal of Archaeology.*
- Ant. Denkm.* *Antike Denkmäler.*
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TABLE

GIVING THE APPROXIMATE CHRONOLOGY OF THE POTTERY
AND PAINTERS MENTIONED IN THIS VOLUME

GEOMETRIC POTTERY AND ORIENTAL INFLUENCES

- | | |
|--|----------------------------|
| 1. Dipylon ware | 10th to 8th centuries B.C. |
| 2. Phaleron ware | 7th century B.C. |
| 3. Proto-Attic pottery
Nessos painter | <i>ca.</i> 600 B.C. |
| 4. Tyrrhenian and Vourva vases | <i>ca.</i> 600-560 B.C. |

ATTIC BLACK-FIGURE

- | | |
|------------------------|-------------------------|
| Kleitias and Ergotimos | <i>ca.</i> 560-550 B.C. |
| Exekias | <i>ca.</i> 550-525 B.C. |

ATTIC RED-FIGURE

- | | |
|----------------------|-------------------------|
| Andokides painter | <i>ca.</i> 530-510 B.C. |
| Menon painter | <i>ca.</i> 530-510 B.C. |
| Oltos | <i>ca.</i> 525-510 B.C. |
| Epiktetos | <i>ca.</i> 525-500 B.C. |
| Skythes | <i>ca.</i> 520-500 B.C. |
| Phintias | <i>ca.</i> 510-500 B.C. |
| Euphronios | <i>ca.</i> 510-500 B.C. |
| Euthymides | <i>ca.</i> 510-500 B.C. |
| Panaitios painter | <i>ca.</i> 510-490 B.C. |
| Kleophrades painter | <i>ca.</i> 510-480 B.C. |
| Berlin painter | <i>ca.</i> 500-470 B.C. |
| Duris | <i>ca.</i> 500-460 B.C. |
| Brygos painter | <i>ca.</i> 500-470 B.C. |
| Makron | <i>ca.</i> 500-470 B.C. |
| Myson | <i>ca.</i> 500-490 B.C. |
| Pan painter | <i>ca.</i> 480-450 B.C. |
| Pistoxenos painter | <i>ca.</i> 480-460 B.C. |
| Penthesileia painter | <i>ca.</i> 480-460 B.C. |
| Sotades painter | <i>ca.</i> 470-450 B.C. |
| Niobid painter | <i>ca.</i> 460-450 B.C. |

Achilles painter	<i>ca.</i> 460-430 B.C.
Villa Giulia painter	<i>ca.</i> 460-440 B.C.
Chicago painter	<i>ca.</i> 450-440 B.C.
Polygnotos	<i>ca.</i> 450-430 B.C.
Lykaon painter	<i>ca.</i> 450-430 B.C.
Meidias painter	<i>ca.</i> 410-400 B.C.
Aristophanes	<i>ca.</i> 410-400 B.C.

GLOSSARY

OF SOME NAMES GIVEN TO VASES

Amphora: a vase with a more or less oval body, a low foot, a wide mouth and two vertical handles; the principal varieties of shape are known as *Tyrrhenian*, *Panathenaic* (Fig. 1), *Panel* (Fig. 2), *Neck*, and *Nolan* (Fig. 3) *amphorae*; used principally for wine, but also for corn, honey, oil and other commodities.

Hydria: a vase with an oval body which is joined by a fairly flat shoulder to the neck; it has three handles: two horizontal for carrying the vase when full and one vertical, generally rising above the level of the lip, for carrying when empty; used for water (Fig. 4).

Kantharos: a cup with a deep bowl and tall stem, two loop-shaped vertical handles rising above the rim, attached to the rim and to the lower edge of the body; used for wine (Fig. 9).

Kotyle: a bowl-shaped cup with a flat foot, slightly curved sides, and two flat handles level with the rim; used for wine (Fig. 14).

Krater: a large two-handled bowl, varying in shape, used for the mixing of wine and water; the principal shapes are: the *Bell-krater* (Fig. 5), resembling an inverted bell, the lip projecting above the body, the handles attached horizontally to the sides; the *Column-krater* (Fig. 6), wide-bellied, with a short, wide neck, a flat rim joined to the shoulder by solid columnar handles; the *Kalyx-krater* (Fig. 7), resembling the opening calyx of a flower, the lip projecting above the body, the handles attached to the lower part of the body; the *Volute-krater* (Fig. 8), with an oval body, large neck and lip, large handles reaching above the lip and curved round in volutes.

Kylix: a drinking cup with a stem, high at first (Fig. 10), but tending to grow shorter as the bowl of the cup grows shallower (Fig. 11), two handles attached horizontally to the sides; the *Eye-kylix* is an archaic form with pairs of eyes painted on each side; used for wine.

Lebes: a flattened ovoid bowl with a flat rim and, generally, without handles, also known as a *Dinos*; used for either wine or water.

Lekythos: a long, generally cylindrical-bodied flagon with long, narrow neck, funnel-shaped mouth, and a vertical handle; used for containing oil or perfume; many of the *Lekythoi* with a white ground were placed on tombs or burnt with the dead (Fig. 12).

Loutrophoros: a very tall type of amphora with thin body, elongated neck, and wide rim; kept for marriage and burial rites (Fig. 13).

Pelike: a type of amphora, wide-bodied and short-necked (Fig. 16).

Pyxis: a cylindrical or spherical box with a lid; used on the toilet table for cosmetics, hairpins, jewelry, etc. (Fig. 15).

Skyphos: another name for *Kotyle* (Fig. 14).

Stamnos: a spherical jar with short, thick neck and two small side-handles attached horizontally; used for containing oil or wine (Fig. 17).

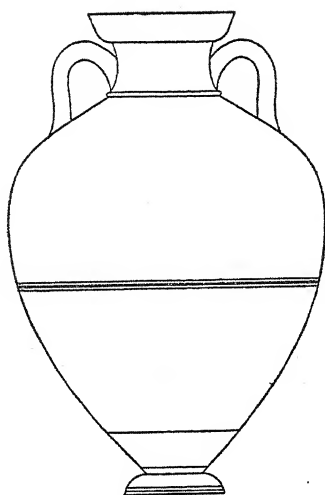


FIGURE 1

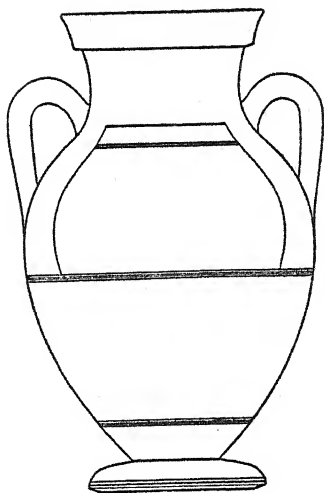


FIGURE 2

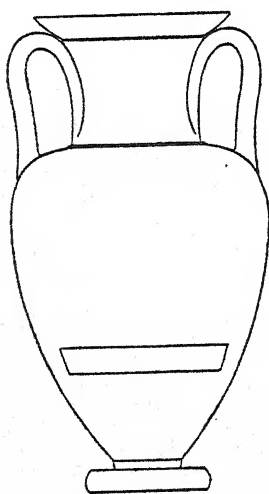


FIGURE 3

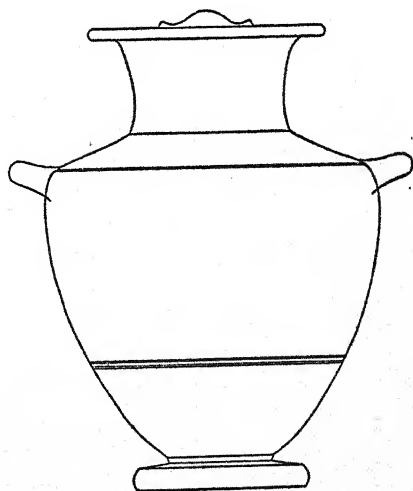


FIGURE 4



FIGURE 5

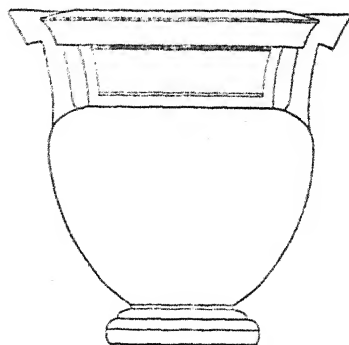


FIGURE 6



FIGURE 7

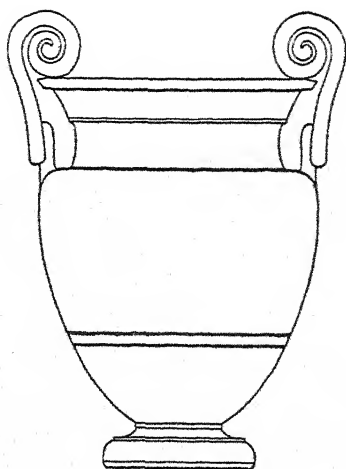


FIGURE 8



FIGURE 9

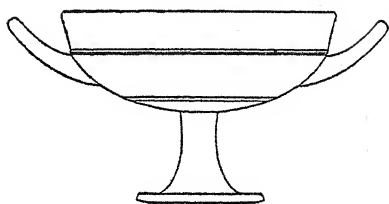


FIGURE 10

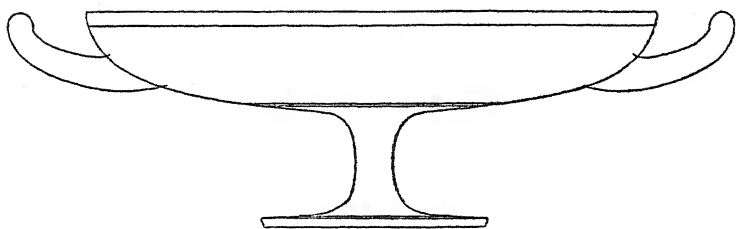


FIGURE 11

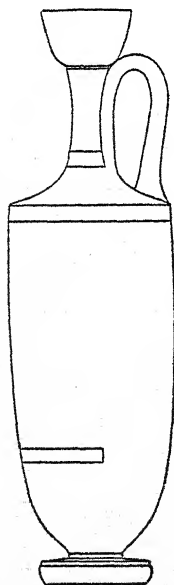


FIGURE 12

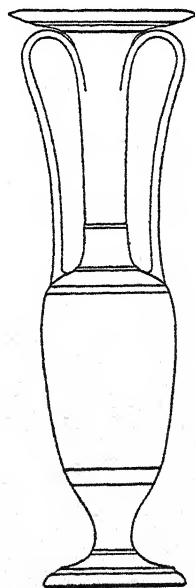


FIGURE 13

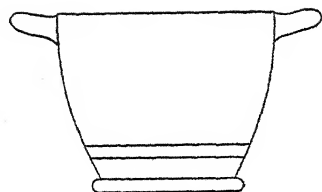


FIGURE 14

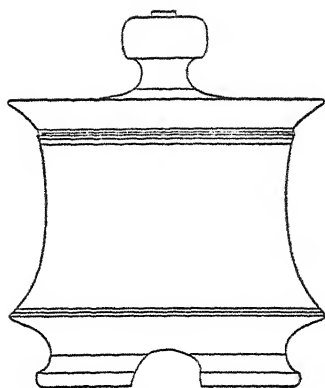


FIGURE 15

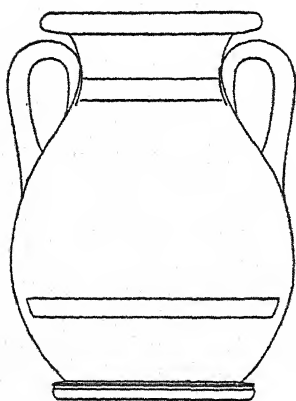
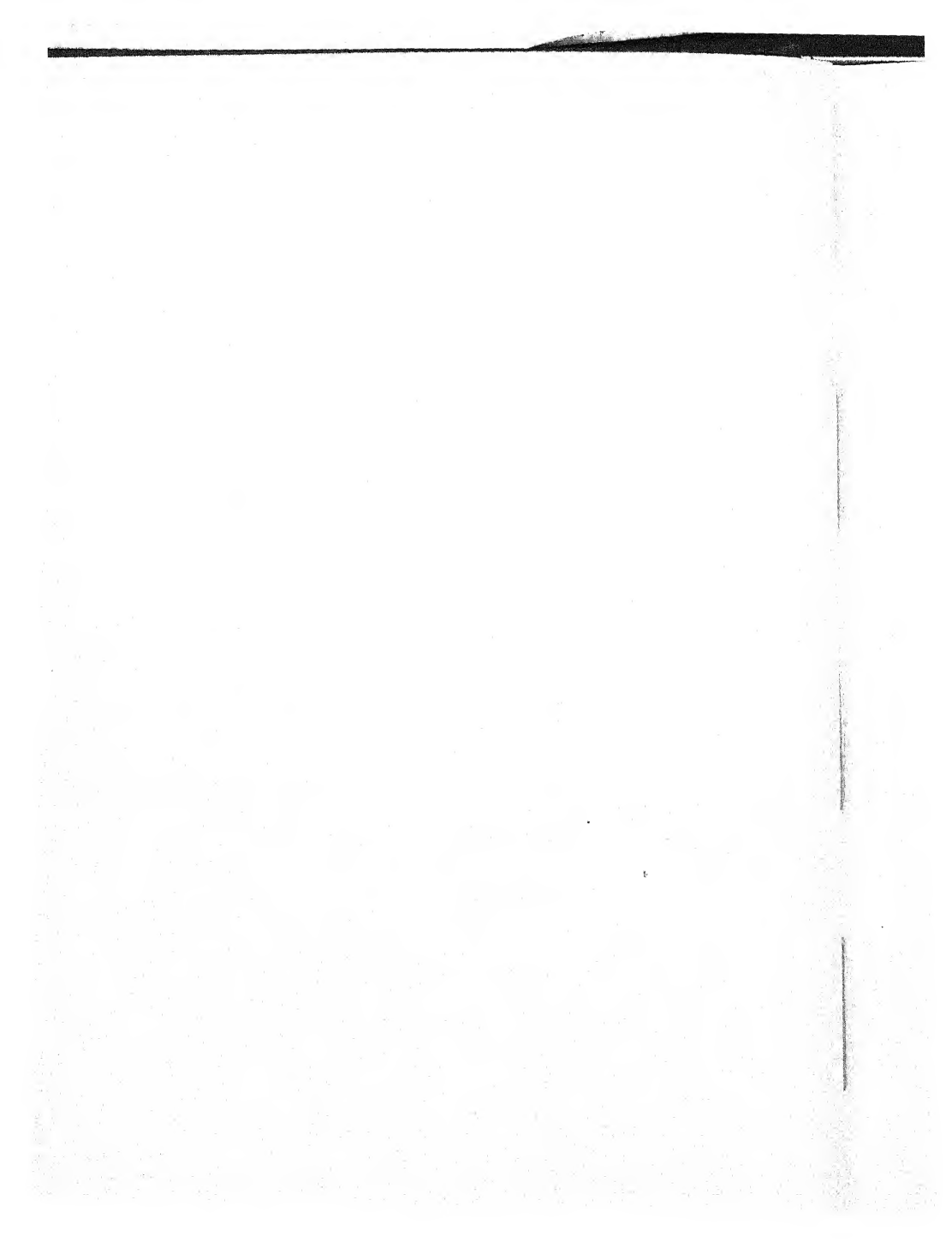


FIGURE 16



FIGURE 17

ATTIC VASE-PAINTING



I

EARLY ARCHAIC PAINTING

THE archaeologist derives more information, more stimulus to fresh discovery and consequently more interest from pottery than from anything else. The information it has to give is so much more precise than the information derived from architectural remains; pottery covers a period far longer than sculpture or coinage; and from the best painted vases one can derive an aesthetic thrill as pleasing as one can derive from the best sculpture. Indeed the study of ancient pottery may be said to have a three-fold appeal:

(1) The appeal to the purely scientific archaeologist, the man whose main passion is for data and strata. This type of man always becomes a prehistorian and to him pots, and even more potsherds — for he is apt to give us the impression that he prefers his pots broken — tend to become ends in themselves.

(2) The appeal to the historical archaeologist. Pots, better than anything, if inferences are drawn from them with much caution, can tell us (in the absence of written records) much about the growth and decline of civilization; the movements, displacements and conquests of peoples; the range, bulk and wealth of trade.

(3) But the chief appeal of ancient ceramics must be the appeal to the art lover — the aesthetic appeal,

and this is made, of course, chiefly by the pottery of Athens, which is so closely related to the poetry, religion and life of Greece. For this Attic pottery it has been justly claimed (to quote the words of Percy Gardner) that it is "the only perfectly developed and thoroughly consistent pottery in the world; and all the noted productions of modern Europe seem in comparison poor and half-civilized."

This is not to say that our aesthetic interest is not also aroused by the finest ceramic products of Minoan and numerous other types of ancient pottery, for it certainly is, though to a lesser degree than by Attic vases. But to understand, even to attempt to realize, why the art of these things is so stimulating is not easy.

"What is Truth?" said jesting Pilate and did not stay for an answer. "What is Art?" says the man-in-the-street and thinks of Marcus Stone.

Yet the answer is not altogether a simple one. The despairing will cry that no one can tell; that no one can say why a Beethoven symphony sounds better than the latest popular tune.

All the same we can, I think, find the answer to "what is Art"—and art at its best—by an endeavour to grasp the two rival interpretations of art; and by the realization that art at its greatest lies midway between them.

These rival interpretations may be called the *formal* and the *exuberant*.

(1) The *formal interpretation* says in effect that the

object of art is such an arrangement of forms and colours as arouses aesthetic satisfaction in those who have the power of feeling it. The objects arranged may even be ugly and mean. Their quality or utility is irrelevant to the achievement of art. A true connoisseur does not ask whether the objects that suggested a geometric picture to Picasso are beautiful or ugly, mean or noble, or whether they have been truly reproduced. He is absorbed only in the *pattern* that makes the work of art.¹

Such an interpretation is entirely applicable to the art of Minoan Crete.

(2) The *exuberant interpretation* insists on life as the essential thing. You must, it says, get life into your art, as Raphael did. And life comes out of life, passion and feeling. It can't come out of theories. Exclude all talk of art for art's sake, aesthetic emotions, significant form. You must paint or draw with the kind of passion which will stimulate your intellect to create the right formal relations; and so you must paint things that passionately interest you, moving things, human things. Nobody but a mystical pantheist like Van Gogh can seriously be as much interested in table napkins, apples and bottles as in his loved one's face or the Resurrection or the destiny of man. Could Michael Angelo have devised his splendid compositions if he had painted chianti flasks and cheeses instead of the Creation of Man and the Last Judgment?² Such interpretation is en-

¹ See G. Lowes Dickinson, *After Two Thousand Years*, p. 144 f.

² Compare Aldous Huxley, *Antic Hay*, chap. vi, where one of his characters gives vent to such notions.

tirely applicable to the art of the High Renaissance in Italy.

These opposing interpretations seem utterly incompatible. But the point is that there is a middle course between them, and it was of the very essence of Hellenism that it almost always found the middle course; that it always aimed at finding it. The essence of the Greek way of life was expressed by the two greatest of the Delphic maxims

gnōthi sauton
know yourself

mēden agān
don't exceed

Imbued with this ideal of restraint and with this deep interest in humanity, the Athenian artist hit the exact mean between the formal interpretation and the exuberant interpretation of art, and thus achieved the greatest art the world has known. He painted with passion human things which stimulated the intellect, and he was all the while still absorbed in the pattern which his art made and which made his art. That is why one century of Attic vase-painting is unsurpassed — more — unequalled.

It is the same story, of course, in sculpture; formal is a cycladic idol, or Epstein's Night; exuberant is the great Pergamene Altar, or Bernini's SS. Peter and Paul in the Lateran. And the Perfect Mean: Apollo — in the Western Pediment at Olympia.

It has been well said that the purpose of art is to interpret the purpose of man, and if we ask what was the purpose of the average cultivated Greek, who

knew much of Homer and Hesiod by heart, to whom the splendour of Pindar's verse and the drama of Aeschylus could appeal, the answer must be this: during the sixth and the first half of the fifth century before our era, it was his purpose as far as in him lay to live up to those two Delphic maxims: "know yourself"; "don't exceed."

Now as far as ordinary human relationships are concerned, it is, or should be, the aim of our education in the present century to order our lives in accordance with this Delphic code. Hence Greek art of all others should have the greatest appeal to us. And if it has not yet always made that appeal, this is only because we are not really familiar with it at its greatest, because our ideas have been contaminated with the notion that fleshy female types like the Venus of Milo and she of the Medici, or monsters like the Laokoön, are typical Greek art. It is my hope in these lectures to introduce one of the greatest aspects of true Greek art to some who may not have had opportunities of obtaining from it the aesthetic pleasure that it can give.

It is an art which interprets the essence of Greek life; but let it not be thought that the essential spirit of moderation in the Greek was a weak spirit of compromise. Rather it was a spirit fiercely antagonistic to anything like excess, whether the excess of ochlocracy or of tyranny. The Greek spirit of moderation — Sophrosyne — achieved the greatest victory recorded in the world's history: the victory of the decent, moderate, self-controlled Greek over that which seemed to

him the great embodiment of pride and barbarism, of wealth and autocracy, the monarch of the Medes and Persians.

"Pride," wrote Aschylus,¹ drawing the favourite comparison between Persian and Greek "flowers and then bears as fruits a crop of ruin, wherefrom it reaps a harvest of utter misery. And when you see such are its results then turn your minds to Athens and to Greece; do not despise your present good fortune nor hanker for other things and cast away your great happiness."

(A) GEOMETRIC ART

The first great period of Greek art is the geometric period covering roughly the tenth, ninth and eighth centuries B.C., and the essential qualities of the art of this period are best exemplified in its pottery. But the question of the origin of geometric pottery is perhaps the most puzzling of all questions concerning Greek ceramics. Even now we cannot claim any certain solution of the problem; for a problem it is.

Let me put it in its simplest form.

With much probability, geometric art is to be associated with the coming down from the North into Greece of the last wave of invaders, the Dorians, a backward Greek-speaking set of cousins of the earlier Achaeans.

The State, however, in which geometric pottery attained its greatest perfection, in which, indeed, it

¹ *Persae*, 821-826.

almost sprang into being already perfected, was Attica. Yet this same Attica was the most conspicuously un-Dorian, the most pre-eminently anti-Dorian, state of all. So how regard its pottery as due to the Dorian invaders? The problem is really the same one for pottery and for the Doric order in architecture. Perhaps we may say that pottery of geometric style derived not from the Dorians as invaders, but from that part of the country whence the Dorians came, that is to say the regions lying along the Pindus Range. The extreme probability of this has but recently come to light since Heurtley's excavations in Macedon and at Boubousti.¹ There he found pottery dating between 1200 and 1000 B.C., and linking up on the one hand with Macedon, on the other with the latest Thessalian pots of Volo.

Of its true geometric character one can gain a good impression from a study of Heurtley's collection of designs,² amongst which pyramids, lattice-bands, and especially the maeander are in evidence, the last being of considerable importance. Moreover, Heurtley has made it fairly clear that this apparently is pottery used by early Dorians in the North; and when they came south they evidently did suddenly impose such designs on some late Mycenaean shapes. To those familiar with the so-called "granary" class of bowls from Mycenae,³ the link will be obvious between these and another bowl from Mycenae,⁴ still of

¹ W. Heurtley, *B. S. A.*, xxviii, 158 ff. ² *Ibid.*, 176, fig. 24.

³ *B. S. A.*, xxv, Pl. 8; *C. A. H.*, Pls. I, 178*d*, *e*.

⁴ *Arch. Jahrb.*, 1899, p. 85.

"granary" shape but north geometric in its decoration (Pl. 1*a*, *b*). That is what seems to have occurred in Argolis. Meanwhile other northerners passing into Boeotia produced, among various shapes, a type of early geometric pyxis which once again retains the simplicity of Thessalo-Dorian pattern (Pl. 1*c*),¹ and which has, moreover, an early Attic counterpart (Pl. 1*d*).²

So there was Attica with this new geometric art — art of a textile type — to north of it and south of it.

Now Attica had apparently never been stirred by Minoan-Mycenaean art,³ for we find absolutely no trace in Attica of any attempts to reproduce in ceramic the Minoan grand manner as we do find it in Peloponnese. It is obvious that Athenians could have done it better than Argives could; but it just did not appeal. Perhaps it was too twirly, too scatter-brained for them.

Here in this simple peasant-art of pot-decoration the Athenians of the tenth century B.C. found something congenial which they developed with such remarkable skill and speed as to create the impression that they suddenly wrote the first chapter of the story of Greek art. They developed geometric art to a unique height, a unique severity in which lay the germ of classical art, so that here already Athenians may

¹ *Ibid.*, 1888, p. 353; in Berlin. Dorian geometric pottery in Crete is described by H. G. Payne, *B. S. A.*, xxix, 224 ff.

² *Ath. Mitt.*, 43, Pl. I.

³ The common Late Helladic III (or late Mycenaean) pottery of course was abundant in Attica.

seem to have a spiritual leadership at a very early period.

This art might not unsuitably be defined as architecture in pottery, for its architectual quality is its outstanding quality. It brings out "the Greek feeling for pure form, for clarity and measure, for rhythm and symmetry, for perfect order and organic disposition, and in Athens it reaches a degree of abstraction which is almost mathematical."¹

Geometric pottery may have been of Dorian descent like the Doric order in architecture, but it was the brilliant clarity of the Athenian that made both into something overwhelmingly impressive.

The designs of Attic geometric, known also as Dipylon ware, develop through three main stages; for the pure geometric patterns are followed by designs which include narrow bands of birds, horses or stags, and these in turn are succeeded by compositions which to the earlier patterns add panels and bands containing highly stylized human silhouettes.

Even in the early stage, plastic animals, clay modelled, were sometimes attached to pots, for example three or four horses to the lid of a pyxis, acting as a very satisfactory knob; but commoner is the custom of attaching snakes which crawl up handles or round shoulders and lips. These, however, are always on funeral vases, since the snake for a variety of reasons was essentially associated with the cult of dead.

As for human silhouettes, they first come in about the eighth century and can best be illustrated by the

¹ E. Pfuhl, *Masterpieces*, p. 11.

painting on the most magnificent sepulchral vase of them all, a great six-foot jar in Athens,¹ so impressive because of the perfect architectural balance and disposition of its decorative bands, and the subtle placing of the two little friezes of stags. The central body panel depicts a *Prothesis*, or mourning for the dead man laid out, and the deliberate mathematical stylization is very strong. A couch, a corpse, a pall, mourners grieving, for the rest filling ornaments; what more would you desire? An adequate, well-patterned, stylized impression of funeral obsequies has been attained (Pl. 2a).

Epic subjects occur at times, as for example upon an amphora in Munich: two heroes fighting; of whom one carries a round buckler, the other a Boeotian shield; the chariot wheels appear side by side; the charioteer is robed. Such a pot is, for all its simplicity, the precursor of many an Attic black-figured vase.

(B) ORIENTAL INFLUENCES

Somewhere about 700 B.C. Greek pottery began to undergo a subtle change. More settled conditions of life led to trade and to increasing contact with the East, the art of which was formal in its way, but far removed from the geometric art of Greece. Products of Syrians, Mesopotamians, Phoenicians, Egyptians began to make their way first to the Greek cities of the Anatolian coast and the islands, then to Greece itself; and these affected Greek craftsmen.

¹ E. Pfuhl, *M. u. Z.*, III, fig. 10.

In Corinth and in many Greek island states a phase of strong orientalization set in, most conspicuously of all perhaps in Rhodes. A momentary glance at some pottery from that island will illustrate well the extent to which it was affected by Asiatic art, deriving therefrom, among other things, the animal frieze.

Mesopotamian art had always loved animals in procession, for as far back as 3500 B.C. at Ur we find friezes of cows carved in shell and inlaid on bitumen,¹ and this type of moving animal frieze reached its full development in Assyria under Assurbanipal, 668-627 B.C. Typical from his palace at Nineveh are the fast moving gazelles, some with nozzle to ground.² From this advanced Assyrian art there came the earliest designs on Rhodian pots, but the animals seem to be set in a brilliantly coloured carpet, on a white ground, upon a jug from Camirus in the Louvre and on a fragment of a dish from Vroulia in Rhodes,³ both of the seventh century. Egyptian decorative influence is present also in the lotiform design upon the jug. But though the animals and the patterns derive from Assyrian prototypes, they have a brightness of drawing and colour which gives them a distinctive charm. The Athenian potters, however, did not surrender wholeheartedly to the East in this fashion. To them a pot was always something of a piece of architecture, while to the eastern mind the pot was often rather a container-shaped carpet.

¹ S. Harcourt Smith, *Babylonian Art*, Pl. 6.

² H. Schafer and W. Andrae, *Kunst d. alten Orients*, p. 534.

³ C. A. H., Pls. 1, 348b, c.

These rival ceramic notions struggled together for a good century; and then the Athenian potter ultimately reached the neat middle course. Limitations were understood, excess of formalism and excess of giddy uncontrol were abandoned, and from a fusion of the best elements in both types of decoration there grew forth the most elegant, dignified, cheerful and self-controlled pottery of the world.

(C) ATTIC BLACK-FIGURE, 600-500 B.C.

It is important to bear in mind that, though Attic black-figure owes much to orientalizing pattern flowing in through Island and Corinthian channels, it has its foundations in the Attic geometric tradition, for there is a direct line from Attic geometric down to black-figure, marked by four phases. The first of these, the Dipylon phase of design, untouched by any oriental influence, has already been mentioned. Presently this ware gave place to Phaleron ware which may be illustrated by a bowl in Munich (Pl. 2*b*).¹ The name of this pottery derives from the place where it was first discovered, and it is often called Proto-attic. It has a clear relationship to Dipylon, while it is distinguished from it by various orientalizing touches. Moreover, in contrast to Dipylon figures, the silhouettes have filled out, faces have been illuminated and outlined, for the old conventions are passing. This may be dated about 650 B.C.

Not much later than the Munich bowl there was

¹ E. Pfuhl, *M. u. Z.*, III, 84.

made a big amphora, now in New York, much further advanced in orientalizing, owing a good deal to contemporary Island styles. Herakles is slaying a centaur, and his chariot is standing by (Pl. 3a).¹ More exciting than the main picture are the accessories: on the neck an absurd lion and deer; all over the place cable-bands, spirals, twirls and squiggles, flowering shrubs and bulging nine-pins. The whole thing is giddy with a natural exuberance and totters on the brink of chaos.² A little more advanced, a little nearer to true Attic black-figure is the famous Nessos vase in Athens,³ another big amphora. The picture on the body shows three gorgons: Medusa has been beheaded and collapses, but the other two are hot upon the chase; Perseus is not shown but is to be imagined. The Gorgons gain added speed from the clever device of dolphins set swimming in the opposite direction. The neck picture, however, is even more significant (Pl. 4a). This is in direct line of descent from the New York vase; but chaotic superfluities have been combed out, and in their place are the simple contrasts of hero and wild man. Herakles with a stride like a man in seven-league boots steps on to the back of the centaur who staggers under the jerk which has pulled him up short. Clever are the contrasts of active and helpless hands, of tight-set lips and open lips, of tidy-haired hero and unkempt savage. We shall meet the same brilliant contrast again a century later in an early Attic red-figure pot, the Herakles and

¹ *J. H. S.*, 32, Pls. 10, 11.

² *J. D. Beazley, Attic Black-figure*, p. 9. ³ *Ant. Denkm.*, Pl. 57.

Antaios vase of Euphronios (Pl. 16). The artist of this vase (others by him have survived in fragments) is the earliest Greek artist whose personality we can grasp, and he is Attic — typically. He conveys a touch of the same rough-hewn power of which we are aware in the presence of the gigantic stone *kouros* of Sunium. Again we note Athens, despite her political insignificance about 600 B.C., asserting in art an unconscious claim to the spiritual leadership of the Greeks.

After all, one object of the artist is such an arrangement of planes, forms, colours, as arouses aesthetic satisfaction. If the pattern of a picture is truly absorbing it is a true work of art; and on this vase it is altogether absorbing.

The animal frieze style of pottery illustrates the third phase in the line of development from the geometric to the black-figure. This type, contemporary roughly with the Nessos amphora, is of importance as a link in the chain. A dish in Cambridge (Pl. 3*b*) will serve to show the debt of Athens to older orientalizing wares like the Corinthian. But there is an Attic sobriety in the rejection of excessive filling ornaments and carpet patterns. And the atticized animal frieze is to appear again in full grandeur on the most famous of black-figure vases and to continue for many years more as a head-piece or predella to many an Attic vase panel.

A step only, and a short one, it is to the fully developed Attic black-figure — the fourth phase. By the time this last dish was made, Athenian pottery was

already the most famous and popular pottery in the ancient world and had become one of the principal exports to countries far distant from Athens. Its celebrity led to the introduction of signatures; sometimes the painters, frequently the potters, occasionally both, signing their names on vases.

This leads us to a consideration of the François vase, the masterpiece of early Attic black-figure vase-painting.¹ The François vase (called after Alessandro François, who discovered the vase in 1844 in a grave near Chiusi in Etruria) is a magnificent mixing-bowl, or krater, by the potter Ergotimos and the painter Kleitias, made probably between 560 and 550 B.C., and covered with a wonderful wealth of painted decoration. The ground is yellow ochre; figures brilliant brown-black with touches of soft red and white, the interior covered with red glaze. About two hundred human figures and many animals and monsters decorate the vase, woven into a whole series of Homeric and epic adventures. On the neck are friezes depicting the hunt of the Calydonian boar; the dance of Athenian youths and maidens with Theseus and Ariadne; the funeral games for Patroclus held by Achilles, and Theseus and Lapiths battling with centaurs. On the body the main frieze shows the procession of gods coming as guests to the marriage of Peleus and Thetis. On another Achilles pursues Troilos; Hephaistos is brought back to Olympus by Dionysos. The frieze of animals supplies the link to the earlier Attic dish just shown. Finally on the

¹ *F. R.*, Pls. 1-3, 11-13.

foot a comic scene: the battle of the pygmies and cranes.

With so brief a sketch it is impossible to do justice to this great vase which Kleitias painted, covering almost every inch of his surface with decoration, getting his effect not by concentration on a subject or group but, like a geometric painter, by delightful elaboration of detail. The whole vase, architectural in its proportions, brilliant in its formalized colouring, has a different effect from that of a simple early geometric pot which creates its effect in its first impression. Kleitias has achieved such an epic quality in his painting that we want to read his great vase through as we read Homer's shield of Achilles.¹

Finally let me emphasize the architectural quality of the vase by a reference to its handles (Pl. 5). On the inside of each is painted a fierce Gorgon who reminds us of the Gorgon's sisters on the Nessos painter's amphora. On the outside of each a splendid goddess Artemis, Mistress of wild beasts, gripping a panther and a stag, the finest decorative motive of Greek archaic art, derived from the East, but improved out of all recognition by the Greeks. And if you may think the vase has so far proved almost too gay with its wedding and sports and hunting, its dancers, comic centaurs and more comic cranes and pygmies; if you should say this excess of lightness hardly fits the Delphic commandment "don't exceed"; if you should ask for a sober reminder of the tragedy that lurks behind the mask of human gaiety,

¹ J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-figure*, p. 15.

you have that here too. On each handle, under the Mistress of wild beasts, Ajax, the most tragic of all Greek heroes, grief-stricken but strong and serious, carrying on his shoulder the body of the one who was even greater than he, the one to whose honours he should have succeeded but for the intrigues of lesser men, the body of Achilles. There is the amazing touch that makes this vase so truly Greek, and, what is the same thing, so truly great.

You must make allowance for the conventions of archaic art, queer perhaps to us; and, having done that, you will find in it both a deep interest in humanity and the ideal of restraint; you will find the expression of self-knowledge and of moderation.

II

ARCHAIC PAINTING

THE François vase, by the painter Kleitias and the potter Ergotimos, was found in Etruria; a cup by the same pair in Gordion in Asia Minor; fragments of another cup by them at Naucratis in Egypt; only the little stand with their signatures, now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, may have been found in Attica, the land of its manufacture.

This remarkable distribution is a token not only of the high opinion held by contemporaries of the work of these men, but also of the remarkable dimensions which the Athenian pottery trade had attained by the middle of the sixth century B.C.

The fact is that other vase factories had either shut down, or their wares had been reduced to mere local products for insignificant local household use, like later sixth-century Boeotian or Laconian ware. The turmoils of Asia had put an end to Ionian ceramics; and the one serious rival which Attic pottery had was Corinthian, though that too was on the wane. Corinthians were still the merchant carriers, but their ships were now carrying mainly Attic wares.

Some of the most gorgeous of the Attic vases preserved at the present day come from tombs in Etruria, South Italy and Sicily. Attic pots have been found in Phrygian Gordion, Marseilles and Spain, in Meroë near Khartoum, in Egypt, South Russia and

on the banks of the Neckar in the tomb of a Germanic or Celtic chieftain.¹

The triumph of Athenian pottery has been explained in a curious way. It has been said that the vases were sought after because they contained Attic wine, and the still more famous Attic oil.² But this will hardly do. You could ship neither oil in great gaping jars like the François vase, nor wine in open champagne-glass-like cups.

Chinese vases did not come to seventeenth and eighteenth-century Europe because the Europeans had a passion for ginger and lychees, but because Ming was better than Majolica.

Attic pottery supplanted Corinthian, not because Attic wine or oil was better than Corinthian, but because Athenian vases were of better clay with a better glaze than Corinthian vases. For this reason too Attic vases were highly valued by wealthy Etruscans and buried with them.

Now the François vase and its fellows by the same artists are among the first vases to bear the double signature. They read "Ergotimos made me, Kleitias painted me," potter and painter held in equal honour, it would seem. And one may note in all the best Athenian vases that the *shapes* (see pp. xix to xxii) of the vases have a simplicity combined with beauty, an austerity combined with subtle formal significance

¹ M. Ebert, *Reallex. der Vorgeschichte*, vii, 2, Pl. 1. A red-figure kylix broken in ancient times and mended with gold rivets; now in the Altertümersammlung, Stuttgart. The cup is by the Amymone painter. J. D. Beazley, *Greek Vases in Poland*, p. 39.

² J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-figure*, p. 12, has pertinent comments on this point.

such as makes them the most perfect backgrounds possible for the subjects painted on them; while at the same time the subjects are painted on with always the most careful regard for their appropriateness to the space to be filled.

In the François vase, as already mentioned, it is the old geometric zoning system which is employed by Kleitias. But forget Kleitias for a moment and observe the shape created by Ergotimos.¹ The profile is sure and dry, sharp and firm; the bowl is admirably proportioned to neck and foot; the simplicity of outline well set off by the elaboration of the great double handles. Inevitably we are reminded of a famous piece of sculpture, perhaps a quarter of a century earlier than this vase, to which like the vase one must apply the words "trim and fine," I mean the man of Tenea.² There is the same feeling for neatness, finish, precision here, and, as the elaborate curling handles frame the vase's neck, so the elaborate curly wig frames the man's pleasing head. His happy smiling profile too recalls the brightness of the cheerful little men painted on the vase.

Another fine tightly-planned shape you may see on any good typical hydria (p. xix, Fig. 4), and note how admirably the pictures are fitted to the pot: shoulder piece and body picture and, in addition on some vases, a predella below. The krater, the hydria, the amphora (p. xix, Figs. 1 to 3) and the stamnos (p. xxii, Fig. 17), — the two last for containing wine, — these

¹ *F. R.*, Pl. 3; *C. A. H.*, Pls. 1, 380a. For outlines of kraters see Figs. 5 to 8 on p. xx.

² *Ibid.*, 364.

are the most usual shapes for the bigger pots. One might elaborate on their varieties and on the growth and development of shapes; but it must suffice, since we have considered specimens of the two first, to mention a specimen of each of the other types; and I choose somewhat later ones in the red-figure style. A pleasing amphora in the British Museum¹ shows both the brilliance of shape, the skill with which a brief battle episode is adapted to the draughtsman's field, and the fine use of stylized filling ornaments. Next consider the outline of a stamnos in Boston,² the scene comical, a charioteer-seilenos driving two of his brothers. But how perfectly fitted to the vase's shape; and the stylized ornaments suggest that this mad drive takes them careering through a forest.

As for the shapes of drinking-cups, I am coming to those shortly, after a word has been said about the outstanding artistic value and aesthetic importance of Greek vase-painting, which, I suppose, we should more correctly term "vase-drawing."

Nowadays when your artist makes a sketch he naturally takes the handy, inexpensive sheet of paper on which to draw. The Greek had no paper. He had papyrus, but that was an expensive import from Egypt, reserved for the serious things of life—books, poems, legal documents, business receipts and contracts. No artist could easily afford papyrus, and he would have found the surface rather too rough-grained if he could. School children worked on

¹ *C. V. A.*, Brit. Mus., 3, Pl. 16, 1.

² J. D. Beazley, *Vases in America*, fig. 87.

wooden slates coated with wax; and the ordinary man wishing to make a brief note or to cast his vote by ballot in the assembly stretched out his hand not for a pencil and a scrap of paper, but for a nail and a potsherd. The inscribed *ostraka*, or sherds, found in Athens bearing the names of politicians destined for ostracism, were the scribbling-paper of the ancient Athenian; the complete vase was the drawing-paper of the Attic artist — the cheapest base for the exercise of his art. Therefore, let it not be thought that Attic vase-painters can be roughly equated with the worthy craftsmen who decorated Crown Derby or Delft, Majolica or Meissen china, or with the artisans who added tedious painting to the lifeless pottery of Sèvres. Some mere craftsmen made drawings on cheap, mass-production Attic wares, of course; but, in addition to these, brilliant draughtsmen of the first rank wandered from pottery to pottery and drew masterpieces of design on cups and pots. Moreover, when an occasional demand occurred for drawing or painting on flat surfaces rather than on vases, these same vase-painters were the men who were called upon to exercise their art. Though so little archaic "panel-painting" survives, that little supplies the necessary evidence; for a set of painted terracotta plaques which once served to decorate an Athenian tomb (Pl. 6a),^{*} and which is now divided between Berlin and Athens, is the work of Exekias, the greatest of the vase-painters in the black-figure style; while the painted panel of Megakles charging into the fray,

^{*} J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-figure*, p. 30.

now in the Athenian Acropolis Museum (Pl. 6*b*),¹ is in the manner of that brilliant red-figure vase-painter, Phintias. Thirdly Skythes, the humourist, the painter of red-figure cups, also painted and signed a fine black-figure panel now in Athens.² But we must continue the story of Attic vase-painting.

Kleitias himself, besides the great mixing-bowl, painted little drinking-cups of the type familiarly known as "little master cups" because tiny figures and tiny signatures generally adorn them. Of this type I would illustrate a cup in Cambridge which is not by him, but is signed by Hermogenes.³ Its shape, combining typically strength with delicacy, has the same trim merits as the big François vase; and the exquisite detail of the little chariot group upon it is thoroughly pleasing (Pl. 7*a*).

Often there was painting in a tondo on the inside of the cup, so that when you drank up your wine you suddenly looked at a picture. One of the most exquisite is that inside a cup in Castle Ashby, two delicately patterned piebald goats butting one another over a stylized bush.⁴ Not even the finest mediaeval miniature can equal it.

Among the artists who sometimes decorated these little cups was Exekias, who was active between 550 and 525 B.C. A well-known work of his is a splendid cup in Munich (Pl. 7*b*)⁵ which, instead of a small cen-

¹ E. Pfuhl, *M. u. Z.*, I, 493.

² *Ibid.*, III, 273.

³ *C. V. A.*, Cambridge, I, Pl. 19, 1. For the shapes of cups see p. xxi, Figs. 10, 11.

⁴ J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-figure*, Pl. 5, 1.

⁵ *F. R.*, Pl. 42; E. Pfuhl, *M. u. Z.*, III, 231.

tral picture only, had the whole interior tondo covered with a design. Dionysos, sailing in a boat over the sea from Thrace, bringing to mankind his glorious gift—a mighty vine which should sink any but a god-guided ship. Outside the same cup is a Homeric battle over fallen warriors. But, though Exekias could do these delicate miniatures, his really great achievements were in the grand manner.

You will remember that magnificent early Attic work, the Nessos amphora, with its powerful painting. After an interval that vase was succeeded by the François vase and the little cups. The big powerful type of painting had not, however, faded out. Successors of the Nessos painter produced big strong amphorae with simple pictures; such as a woman's head and shoulders, or a horse's head and neck, in a panel.¹ And another successor made the earliest known Panathenaic amphora, the Burgon amphora in the British Museum.² Tradition placed the first celebration of the greater Panathenaia in 566 B.C. and the famous vase may well belong to this very year. The Athena may seem crude, to those unfamiliar with black-figure conventions distinctly funny and far from stateliness or divinity. But none can deny she makes a lovely pattern, and that this formalism is full of power. In front of her the inscription tells that this vase is a prize for the games in Athens. The reverse of the same amphora loses value in any reproduction because of the flattening it has to undergo. One must

¹ *Ibid.*, 200, 201.

² *Mon. d. Inst.*, x, Pl. 48, i, k; *C. V. A.*, Brit. Mus., i, Pl. 1, 1a, b.

really look at the fine bulging original in the British Museum to realize that pattern here too has its significance. The subject shows a participator in the country cart race, and if his horses appear to be lured on by things that resemble carrots, this merely adds to our delight.

Now it is this kind of grand tradition of which Exekias was really the exponent. He was a potter and was his own master-painter. Twice he writes on vases *Exekias egrapse kapoiese me* "Exekias painted and made me." On any one of his finer amphorae we can observe the greatest by far of the black-figure painters producing perfection of shape and balance of decoration, displaying a technique which partly harks back to a Dipylon tradition. As potter he signed an amphora in Berlin (Pl. 8a) ¹ with a picture of Herakles slaying the triple giant Geryones, a panel which shows how well the black-figure artist understood design. Below is the giant's helper, Eurytion the herdsman, shot by an arrow through the head. Herakles is so formidable and yet so tidy, just like the Herakles on the Nessos vase.

But the finest work of Exekias as potter and painter, the masterpiece of black-figure painting, is the Vatican amphora.² Here are the two bravest of the Greeks at Troy grouped in action, playing some game of skill or chance. It is perhaps an episode in a lost tale of the Trojan War. The game had been invented to while away hours of inaction, and one day

¹ E. Pfuhl, *M. u. Z.*, III, 226.

² *F. R.*, Pls. 131, 132; E. Pfuhl, *M. u. Z.*, III, 229, 230.

the two heroes in their concentration on the game missed the alarm, so that before they were aware the Trojans were in the Achaean camp.¹ Or was it a Francis Drake touch? Plenty of time to finish the game and beat the Trojans too!

Anyway the two great figures with their grim shields gleaming behind them are on duty in full armour, Achilles scoring four points, Ajax three, as they themselves inform us. The fine detailed engraving on the picture, so carefully subordinated, repays repeated study; not least the fine details of armour and the careful use of white. Thus Peisistratos or Hippias appeared in the magnificence of war-panoply.

The other side of the vase (Pl. 9a) has been described as having a blend of charm with austerity. Kastor is going off to ride on his horse Kyllaros, a fine thoroughbred drawn by a man who loved horses; the father, Tyndareos, pats the horse's nose; the mother, Leda, holds out a flower for Kastor; Polydeukes has just returned and pats the family dog while a boy brings along what his master wants after his ride, a seat, with clean clothing atop of it and oil in a little flask to anoint with after the bath. The charm of these figures is best paralleled by the *kouroi* and *korai* of the sixth century; observe Leda and then look at a contemporary marble woman from the Athenian Acropolis.² The same exquisite charm in both.

Look at one more example of Exekias' work, recently republished by Beazley,³ a picture on an am-

¹ J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-figure*, p. 18.

² For example, Acropolis No. 679, *C. A. H.*, Pls. 1, 372b.

³ *Attic Black-figure*, Pl. 7 and p. 20.

phora in Boulogne: the death of Ajax. Earlier black-figure had shown the scene in all its horror with Ajax falling upon his weapon, or fallen upon it spiked and gory. Exekias alone drew not the dead hero nor his death, but with true tragic feeling the preparation for death; Ajax, resolution taken, fixing his sword firmly in the ground, his face furrowed with grief. In spite of all convention we can see here really great art (Pl. 8*b*).

Now about 530 B.C. there came the turning-point in the history of black-figure: someone invented red-figure—someone working probably for a potter named Andokides; or perhaps Andokides himself introduced it. A prolonged struggle between the two styles set in, marked for a while by a compromise when black-figure occupied one side of a vase, red-figure the other; but in the end red-figure won, and black-figure, though never entirely expelled, was driven from the field. Some painters worked in both styles, notably the first of the great red-figure painters, the Andokides painter. Thus the great tradition of Exekias passed through his follower, the Andokides painter, to the best masters of early red-figure, Euphronios and Euthymides, and on to their successors. It is, however, important to remember that a large output of black-figure continued for twenty, nearly thirty years, after red-figure had been invented.

Let us begin by looking at a picture on an amphora in the Louvre¹ by the Andokides painter. Now the

¹ J. C. Hoppin, *Handbook*, I, 39; R. Norton, *A. J. A.*, 1896, pp. 2, 3.

flesh of females on black-figure had generally been white, and here there are only females represented. This vase is therefore not strictly red-figured at all, but white with a background of black glaze. But the picture of naked figures bathing gave the chance for this technique, and the idea was carried over to the Amazons and horse on the other side (Pl. 9*b*), for white horses had occurred too before now. Doubtless this vase, or such another, gave the idea of reserving the red ground of the vase so that figures should appear light against a dark ground.

Next the Andokides painter as a pupil of Exekias painted a vase (the first of his we know of in the double, so-called bilingual, style) now in Boston.¹ It is an amphora; both sides after the famous Exekias amphora with Ajax and Achilles playing a game.

Not long after he repeated the black-figure picture on an amphora in the British Museum.² On the obverse black, Ajax and Achilles; definitely inferior to the work of Exekias. On the reverse red, Herakles and the Nemean lion, Athena and Iolaos. One may note the change in the drawing of the male eye on two sides of the same vase, and observe the awkwardness of placing Iolaos. The painter is just feeling his way.

Tremendous advance is apparent in the Boston amphora with Herakles and the Cretan bull (Pl. 10).³ The Andokides painter has mastered his new tech-

¹ J. C. Hoppin, *ibid.*, 40, 41. I am assuming that Beazley's B. F. Lysippides painter and R. F. Andokides painter are one and the same man. Cf. *Attic Black-figure*, p. 40.

² *Ibid.*, 10; C. V. A., Brit. Mus., 3, Pl. 1 (G. B. 166). There are considerable restorations.

³ *Forman Cat.*, Pl. opposite p. 54.

nique now and all hesitation has vanished. Observe and compare the knotting of the lion-skin, the hero's kilt, the interior markings of the bull, the tree. Here the painter confidently says "look now upon this picture and on that" and take your choice. He faces his public confident that this new style must prevail. We must here mention a cup in Palermo by the Andokides painter which presents a very curious compromise.¹ Half of the cup is black-figure; between the eyes two Scythian bowmen and a tree. Half of the cup is red-figure; a trumpeter. At each handle the design is split, as it were, between night and day, the effect being most bizarre, especially the white shield and crest tip of the fallen man. This cup was a unique experiment. For a time the bilingual technique was continued in cups, but not thus: rather with an inside picture in black-figure, and an outside in red.

In his later period of activity the Andokides painter abandoned black-figure and painted some magnificent amphorae red-figured both sides. Perhaps the finest of them is the Berlin amphora with the fight for the Delphic tripod.² The onlookers a lovely Koré-Athena delicately dignified, though her tongue-lolling gorgon appears to wink, and Leto, more absorbed in her tendrilly flower than in the excitability of her son, Apollo. "Let us not interfere! these boys are old enough to look after themselves," is the attitude. But Apollo unaided obviously stands a poor chance. On the reverse of the same vase is a wrestling match, the

¹ J. C. Hoppin, *Handbook*, I, 36.

² *Ibid.*, 33; *F. R.*, Pl. 133; *E. Pfuhl, M. u. Z.*, III, 314.

gay young man with the flower acting as umpire. The drawing of the wrestlers is clever if crude, and the facing head of one shows the artist still vainly struggling with an old problem. For all his careful gay details this painter's designs are big and full of such life and character as only Exekias could produce before him.

The Andokides painter had a colleague, who painted both for Andokides and for another potter named Menon. For the sake of distinction he is therefore known as the Menon painter.¹ Only very few of his pots survive: some all black-figure, two bilingual — in Munich and Madrid — and a superb all red-figure amphora in Philadelphia picturing Apollo between Artemis and Leto, with garments that are quite successfully three-dimensional in effect.² The boots of Apollo are truly pleasant. The style of this artist is different from that of the Andokides painter, the Menon painter being more advanced, while in decorative design he is clever, often elegant, and original.

We pass on to the first red-figure painter whose name we know, a brilliant pupil of the Andokides painter, who decorated vases in the factories of the well-known potters Nikosthenes and Pamphaios, as well as in several others. I mean Oltos. He signs *Oltos egraphsen* on two fine eye-kylikes in Corneto and in Berlin. But we should consider first two amphorae

¹ On this painter see H. R. W. Smith, *New Aspects of the Menon Painter*.

² J. C. Hoppin, *Handbook*, II, 203; E. Pfuhl, *M. u. Z.*, III, 318.

of the somewhat tasteless shape invented by the manufacturer Nikosthenes, in this case, however, produced in the rival works of Pamphaios, for they are inscribed *Pamphaios epoiei*. Both are in the Louvre.¹ On the neck of the first, a naked woman fastening her sandal; on the body, a seilen firmly suppressed by a maenad. The second depicts the centaur Chiron with the infant Achilles; and on the neck a running Nereid swinging dolphins like Indian clubs. This is most lively drawing. He is best on his big Corneto cup² (Pl. 11). Inside the potter's name *Euxitheos epoiesen* and a splendid warrior charging into battle with helmet, shield and leopard skin; like the great Herakles, both formidable and tidy. Especially to be noted is the delicacy of line in the drawing. Next look at the outside of the cup, observing that it is signed *Oltos egraphsen* under a chair. The gods are in Olympus: Hebe, Hermes, Athena, Ganymede, Hestia, Aphrodite and Ares. On the other side is Dionysos mounting his chariot escorted by two maenads Kallis and Thero and two seilens Terpōn and Terpēs. Here is a brilliant composition. Here in technique he has a great advantage over his master the Andokides painter, for Oltos has achieved facility in the use of relief lines which cut his figures away sharply from their background. Oltos loved to depict Herakles and gods, Dionysos and his companions, and that earthly counterpart of the divine Thiasos — the human Komos.

¹ *Ibid.*, 362, 363; J. C. Hoppin, *op. cit.*, II, 301, 303.

² *Ibid.*, 251; *Mon. d. Inst.*, x, Pls. 23, 24.

The next painter to be noted is the more famous Epiktetos who like the last man also painted for the potters Nikosthenes and Pamphaios, but he was younger than Oltos and his work was far more delicate. A cup in Berlin will suffice as an example of his early work.¹ Upon it a groom in top boots leads off a pair of horses, the restive one admirable; and a scene in the Palaistra with spear, discus, boxing-gloves. We feel here as though we are looking at some delicate successor of the little black-figure cups. On the inside of the cup is a seilen saddened by the emptiness of the wine skin. He is typical, for Epiktetos loved seilen pictures as tondos for his cups, and one may turn to two others, in Baltimore, and in the British Museum.² The first is lying back on a couch that he may succeed in draining the last drop from the great amphora the raising of which needs feet as well as hands. The disillusioned London seilen is brother to the saddened fellow in Berlin.

His best cup in the British Museum is sheer delight (Pl. 12).³ Python potted it (so runs the inscription on one side), Epiktetos drew it (as we can read upon the other side), drew Herakles and Busiris, King of Egypt, who had the habit of sacrificing unsuspecting foreigners to his gods, until one day Herakles came along. There was to have been music for the sacrifice of Herakles, double flutes and a lyre, a libation of wine, and a carving knife. How they all

¹ J. C. Hoppin, *Handbook*, I, 305; E. Pfuhl, *M. u. Z.*, III, 322.

² J. D. Beazley, *Vases in America*, figs. 7, 8.

³ *F. R.*, Pl. 73; J. C. Hoppin, *Handbook*, 313.

scatter! Then turn the cup and see how the nasty customs of the barbarians are contrasted with the refinements of Athenian gentlemen. What a delicate feast — the flute-girl and the boy, the three fine drinking-cups, the gentle realism of the middle-aged man who is going bald, and an attempt at a bold innovation — one couch shown end-on — and with some success. The interior could not be improved upon, flute-boy and dancing-girl with her castanets just breaking into the steps of her dance. It was Epiktetos who was the chief master, the great exponent of the new style in drawing. Look for example at his dinner-plates — two of them in the British Museum (Pl. 13*a*, *b*).¹ Of these it has been said, "You cannot draw better, you can only draw differently." The lightness and grace of his work is one of the best things in all Greek vase-painting. Finally, as a contrast we turn to Skythes.

The four painters so far considered were elegant and serious people like the Andokides painter, or men with the power of a fine subtle humourist like Epiktetos.

Skythes is a different character. His art seems heir to the comic side of Kleitias' art which dealt in cranes and pygmies; and if he does not, like some later painters, joke about the high gods, he caricatures men, women and heroes. You will remember the gallant leopard-skin-clad warrior, a lion on his shield, charging into battle, as painted by Oltos (Pl. 11*b*); and then see the contrast on a Louvre cup by

¹ J. C. Hoppin, *op. cit.*, pp. 315, 317; E. Pfuhl, *M. u. Z.*, III, 328, 329.

Skythes the humourist (Pl. 13c).¹ This fellow is surely the Attic prototype of the Duke of Plaza Toro.

Best known perhaps is the Theseus kylix in the Villa Giulia, in Rome.² Inside a reveller with lyre, big-headed like all Skythes' folk. Outside, the hero whom you were usually not funny about — Theseus; Theseus and the Crommyan Sow — a very timid sow at that; Theseus and the dreadful Prokrustes. We think of the work of the Ionian humorists when we see the little hare quietly nibbling the grass regardless of all this fierce turmoil. But what is rather remarkable is that he dares to show us Theseus as a funny little dwarf. It were mistaken to think that Skythes merely failed to make a drawing of a noble Theseus. The comedy is quite deliberate.

When in the art of a short period like this you may find as a theme the tragic dignity of Ajax, and at the same time elegance, subtlety, the extreme beauty of line of Epiktetos and the bright caricature of Skythes, you may be sure that that art is both vital and very great.

¹ *Ibid.*, 335.

² *Ibid.*, 333, 334; J. C. Hoppin, *Handbook*, II, 412, 413. For his black-figure work see p. 25 above.

III

RIPE ARCHAIC PAINTING

CA. 510-470 B.C.

MOST of the painters of this period lived and worked through those remarkable years which brought so much prestige, so strong a justification of the Delphic philosophy of life, to all the Greeks and most especially to the Athenians, who stood alone against the Medes at Marathon, and who ten years later were the moving spirits of victory at Salamis. But it was not, of course, the mere elation of success by land and sea which created late archaic and classical art; rather it was the cultivation of self-knowledge, reason and moderation which *contributed* to success over the Persian and which *interpreted* itself through the art of Athens.

Our aim, however, must be to follow the growth of Athenian painting, to observe the best painters carefully guarding their sense of form and restraint the while their knowledge and technical skill improve by steady degrees. Now in the ripe archaic period a distinction must be drawn between pot-painters and cup-painters.

Specialization in technique tended to separate the two classes. A picture in the interior of a kylix of the Antiphon group, in Boston, shows us how the cup-painter worked delicately with a feather-brush on the

cup resting upon his knee;¹ and a somewhat tasteless hydria from Ruvo depicts painters at work in a factory.² There a cup-painter decorates a kantharos and has it balanced on his knee; but the pot-painters, crowned by superfluous Nikēs, work with their vases resting on the ground. It must be remembered, though, that specialization was not absolute. Pot-painters sometimes painted cups, cup-painters tried their hands at pots.

Among pot-painters the first artist whose work we must examine is Phintias, one of the three outstanding painters of the early ripe archaic period, working between 510-500 B.C. One may study the painting on three pots by Phintias chosen to illustrate the subtle advance in art which comes in with his work and is carried along by his famous colleagues Euphronios and Euthymides. Take first a Thiasos scene on an amphora in Corneto (Pl. 14),³ the signature *Phintias egraphsen* appearing between a seilen's legs. Kissine and Simades on the right, two of the wine-god's companions, are, like earlier satyrs and maenads, still adequately tough, but seem touched with a new elegance, which is not merely due to the soft-eyed look imparted by the eyelashes which this painter favoured. One must note the movement of the two pairs and the deepened interest in the human frame and in subtleties of action. This comes out well in a cup in Athens:⁴ a hoplite is putting on his helmet

¹ *Arch. Jahrb.*, 14, Pl. 4.

² A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, III, fig. 2137.

³ *F. R.*, Pl. 91; E. Pfuhl, *M. u. Z.*, III, 381.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 386. Potted by Phintias and painted by a colleague.

for the fight. Study the brilliant composition; the thrill of the pure pattern of the man's body in a new, arresting position and the sheer delight the painter got from what could be done with a thin himation knotted bath-towel-wise round the hips. A pleasant pattern in itself, but carefully subordinated, is this towel-like cloak. The attitude may perhaps be compared with that of the finest of all the figures from the temple at Aegina — the archer Herakles,¹ a work of sculpture roughly contemporary with the vase.

Fine anatomical drawing, skill in creating the impression of bone and muscle under the skin, is characteristic of the painter, Phintias, and it may be observed in a picture he painted on an amphora in the Louvre depicting four athletes.² The second from the left, a diskos-thrower, is worth a moment's study, for a modern anatomical draughtsman, Reichhold, has taken him as a good typical archaic male figure and has equipped him in a trial sketch with a skeleton.³ The result is truly remarkable, for nothing is out of place, and the subtle placing of inside lines on the athlete's surface indicates to perfection the position and the function of the bones (Pl. 15).

Contemporary with Phintias was the famous Euphronios who was potter and painter too. He began by being his own master draughtsman, probably after serving an apprenticeship to Oltos, who had been pupil to the Andokides painter, who in turn learnt

¹ *C. A. H.*, Pls., II, 246.

² *F. R.*, Pl. 112; *E. Pfuhl, M. u. Z.*, III, 383.

³ *K. Reichhold, Skizzenbuch*, Pl. 1, facing p. 17.

from Exekias. So if tradition is holding we must look, in some of his work anyway, for mightiness of composition combined with fineness of line; and, since he is of the new school, that new keen interest in the human body and in powerful movement.

All this comes out in his most famous vase (Pl. 16), the big kalyx krater in the Louvre ¹ signed *Euphronios egraphsen* over the top of the main scene of Herakles wrestling with Antaios. One may observe how the notion of struggle between the civilized and the uncouth permeates the art of the time. It is here quite vividly. The power and cantilever strain of the central group is everything. The three well-patterned nymphs, who would delight us on any other pot, are mere filling ornaments like the discarded panoply of the hero; indeed those adjuncts are even somewhat surprisingly archaic. But the central giants — here there is real getting to grips! First note the hero's neat beard and well-trimmed hair contrasted with the unkempt thatch of Antaios — Greek versus barbarian. Like some of Phintias' people the two central figures have eyelashes. Good are the firm set lips of Herakles, and the gasp of Antaios, whose teeth show, for he is being slowly choked. Brilliant is the interlock of the hero's two hands; more brilliant the limp right hand of the giant on the ground, paralysed — just the perfect drawing of nerveless fingers. The foreshortening of Antaios' right leg is quite typical of the new school's interest in new queer positions. And

¹ *F. R.*, Pls. 92, 93; *E. Pfuhl, M. u. Z.*, III, 392, 393; *C. A. H.*, Pls., II, 262; *J. C. Hoppin, Handbook*, I, 397.

how he enjoyed those inside lines, whether they made the calves and thews of Herakles or the tortoise-pattern on the Antaian belly! On this vase we have the very earliest use of a thin wash of colour for shading — here employed round the giant's navel. If the other side of the vase is less amusing, that is because the theme is comparatively tame — just a music lesson. But I suppose it is because Herakles killed things like that, that we can afford to be leisured and elegant like this. Three young men would learn to play the flutes and the master, fan-fingered (the vase is broken at his eye), steps on to the platform ready to give a lesson. Interior lines again are a great interest to the painter though he seems to have been rather careless about placing the nipples.

The combination of revelry with the sterner stuff which Euphronios loved best is well shown on a volute krater in Arezzo (Pl. 17).¹ The puny little revellers on the upper frieze, bald or pot-bellied, capering, drinking, singing, contrast in superb humour with the mighty heroes, Herakles and Telamon below. Nine amazons have to be tackled (four, you may see by turning the vase, coming up on the other side), a much tougher proposition than Busiris and his puny Egyptians which Epiktetos painted. But never mind the subject; look just at the picture and think if you know a finer composition. Yet, how one is lured on to enjoy the details of clever drawing! There is the Euphronian thigh, of course, the amazon Kydoime has it; and dying as she is of three deep wounds, there's a pathos

¹ *F. R.*, Pls. 61, 62; *E. Pfuhl, M. u. Z.*, III, 395.

in her youthful face which we are to meet again, more genuine still, in a work by a younger master who learnt in the Euphronian school — I mean the famous Penthesileia cup of the Penthesileia painter. Yet there are those who claim that Scopas invented pathos in art in the fourth century. Observe the superb drawing of hands, and of feet too, and then another discovery — how Euphronios must have enjoyed it — for he nearly twisted the right leg off the amazon Teisipyle to show how he could do the sole of a foot in perspective; and he really could draw it, too.

The other side of the vase depicts the other four amazons hurrying up to join the fight. Last, look at a big cup in Munich¹ (Pl. 18). The combat of Herakles and Geryones is an old theme, but here we study its treatment in the new manner. First, take the central group: a three-fold, six-legged man, three-shielded, one third of him collapsed; and the striding, smiting giant Herakles. Turn back to the amphora potted by Exekias (Pl. 8*a*), the man who taught our painter's master's teacher, and you are surprised at the relatively slight advance while you are forcibly struck by the debt of the red-figure to the black-figure design. It is the same scheme with the same fierce but tidy hero and the same unmanageable triplets.

The new manner comes out in other things. First, of course, the Euphronian thigh, which we should hate to miss. Eurytion has it; as well as a beautifully presented sole. In fact he, so beautifully placed beneath

¹ *Ibid.*, 391; *F. R.*, Pl. 22; J. C. Hoppin, *Handbook*, I, 391.

the handle, is the best figure on this side of the cup; he has the right arm and hand of a man weak from loss of blood, the hand sliding away from him; and you can almost hear the thud of his fall coming. Iolaos, Athena, the woman wailing, all help the composition, and one of the nicest things is the two-headed, snake-tailed dead dog.

This kylix throws a new light on Euphronios' skill in drawing animals. The lovely horse in the inside of the cup we may look at again. First take the other side of the exterior on which four armed men — companions of Herakles — are driving away Geryon's captive herd.

None of the cows taken singly is any better than the Andokides painter's gorgeous Cretan bull (Pl. 10). But the whole composition of lumbering, lazy cattle, alert young soldiers and the spreading olive tree of Greece is attractively rustic, until suddenly the painter remembers he is not at home — this weird adventure was in a foreign land — and so throws in a dwarf palm tree under the handle for local colour's sake. But it is not convincing — and hardly meant to be, either. The cows and the olive tree are Greek, sure enough.

The greatest contrast to our formal Herakles is, however, the elegant young Athenian horseman in the centre of this cup with *Leagros kalos* written beside him. One would like to think this is intended for a picture of the much admired Leagros himself, but we cannot be sure. Euphronios could do a horse even better than a cow or a dog, and in this too he

resembled his spiritual ancestor Exekias. This picture has amazing balance; delightful, but well subordinated pattern.

In Euphronios the new deep interest in the rendering of the human body is accompanied by a desire to interpret more kinds of movement than before, to represent new actions by new, pleasant foreshortenings.

This desire is even more marked in the work of his great and successful rival Euthymides, son of Polios. His most famous vases are three amphorae, all in Munich; the first with Hector arming.¹ Hekabe, Hector, Priamos, are all labelled; that is the convention. But, of course, they are really rather anxious Athenian parents seeing their son off to the wars: from the father come words of wisdom, only perhaps they are a little senile, and will not carry very much weight; the mother holding up the helmet — how nice the boy looks in his new uniform — is quite proud and definitely anxious. The composition is extremely simple: the details amazing. The old man's wrinkled face and marvellous right hand. You can feel the bodies under the elegant clinging garments. How does the artist with so few lines achieve the contrasts of texture on Hector, firm thighs, soft clinging vest, hard metallic corslet? And where can you find better the Greek notion of restraint than in this picture?

The legend *egraphsen Euthymides ho Poliou* is continued on the other side of the same vase *hōs oude pote Euphronios* . . . Euthymides "drew this as never Euphronios could." To so naïve a boast what an-

¹ *Ibid.*, 433; *F. R.*, Pl. 14; *E. Pfuhl, M. u. Z.*, III, 364, 365.

swer, what retort, is there possible? Of course, Euthymides would not have put up this boast, against a lesser man, and one may, I think, judge one painter as good as the other, though each has his own strongly individual style. On the reverse of the vase the capering Komarch and his two companions are a diverting contrast to the restrained group on the main side of the amphora. Typical of the new style is the subtle back view of the central figure and the fine inner markings of all three.

The Munich amphora, which is, possibly, the most pleasing of all surviving Greek vases, is unsigned.¹ Its subject (Pl. 19), Theseus carrying off Korone, calls for instant comparison with the beautiful group from the archaic temple at Eretria,² and the painting is in its way equal in merit to the sculpture. Theseus, his elbows out, recalls Hector and seems cast of solid bronze. Note the drawing of his foot from the top. Helene tries to rescue the girl; Peirithous brings up the rear. Admirable contrast there is of male bodies and soft, fine woman's garb, and the female anatomy is well understood, arms and shoulders being most successful. Korone toying with her ravisher's hair is not at all the unwilling captive. But Peirithous looks back, and we must turn the vase to see why; for there are more girls coming and they cry out *eidon, theōmen*, "They have seen us, let's run!" Is theirs truly a zeal to rescue Korone, or do they not rather hope that Theseus may carry them off too? And the bearded fellow in the background calls out *chaire ge Theseus*, "Good luck

¹ *Ibid.*, 368, 369; F. R., Pl. 33.

² C. A. H., Pls. II, 242, b.

to you, Theseus!" Once again an exquisite charm quite characteristic in the drawing of the two girls.

Now, one cannot always appreciate the quality of the drawing of a vase like this, either from a photograph or from a careful facsimile picture. It is well at times to study details in a finely traced drawing which cuts out the black background. Nor could we do better than to base such observation on the fine drawings published by Beazley¹ of figures on a neck-amphora, in Castle Goluchow, in Poland (Pl. 20), with a single figure on either side of the vase: on one side a naked youth is tipping up a pointed amphora and the wine pours out of it. But not into any krater, for Euthymides is interested in the human figure and its action only. Anything else he just leaves us to imagine. With his usual love for remarks he adds *oinon-enche*, "pour the wine in." Athenion is the young man's name. And on the other side a seilen stepping along with a good rolling step is blowing down one of the pipes of his flute to clear it. He is given two names, Brikōn or Oiphōn; for our artist loves to have plenty of writing on his pots. This front view and back view, modelling and perspective, all with the utmost economy of line, could not be done better.

The chief pupil of Euthymides was the Kleophrades painter, and his debt to the master comes out most clearly in an amphora in Munich.² Its reverse, which depicts an athlete fastening his boxing-glove,

¹ *Greek Vases in Poland*, Pl. 5.

² *F. R.*, Pl. 52; *E. Pfuhl*, *M. u. Z.*, III, 372, 373.

is quite Euthymidean in tradition. On the other side the soldier's farewell; but there are no heroic labels for the figures now; a pity perhaps because the thing is no longer quite so strong. Euthymides would never have been guilty of this seeming touch of the sentimental in the old father, turning away to hide a manly tear. But I doubt if it is really sentimentality,¹ for the early fifth-century Greek did not know such a thing. Compare the old man with the athlete above and you will see that a reminiscence of the Euthymidean Hector type of attitude reappears in that of the father. To us, who know the meaning of the word, it may appear sentimental; but not, I think, to a Greek.

His most ambitious vase is the famous Iliupersis hydria in Naples,² an amazing design with as many as nineteen figures which really must be studied group by group. Moving from the right we see a Trojan girl-captive; then two Athenian heroes, Akamas and Demophon, are greeting their old grandmother Aithra who has been long a captive slave in Troy. Now comes more action — a furious Trojan woman smiting at a Greek with a broken piece of furniture. Next comes the centre of fury and horror (Pl. 21*a*). A dead Trojan, a son of Priam lying on the ground, and then old Priam taking refuge on the very altar of Zeus, the blood-stained corpse of his dead grandchild Astyanax on his knees, but Neoptolemos smites the aged king. The very palm tree wilts at the horror of the deed and beyond two captive Trojan women beat their heads in

¹ It was Euripides who invented it.

² *Ibid.*, 378; *F. R.*, Pl. 34.

grief. Round, and the action is at least less bloody though still foul with sacrilege: Ajax tearing Cassandra from the very statue of Athena where she has sought sanctuary. This group has a peculiar interest, for the painter is already sufficiently clear about the tradition which lies behind him to have a sense for the archaic and can therefore deliberately make the Athena statue look primitive. More interesting is the naked figure of Cassandra, for it is an early and fairly successful representation in Greek painting of the female figure. But, like the sculptor of the Ludovisi throne, Kleophrades went wrong with the excessive spacing between the breasts, though the painter managed to minimize the defect with a knotted cloak; his drawing of hips, thighs, feet, arm is admirable. Finally, at the left end, quiet again — Aeneas carrying Anchises, Askanios running ahead. There is no doubt about the amazingly epic quality of this superbly thought out composition, flanked by those corner pieces, a Trojan and a grandfather, Greeks and a grandmother. But one inevitable criticism does arise. This fine composition, not too elaborate in itself, is too elaborate for the shoulder of a mere hydria, and something like the field of a big krater is required to do it justice. A pot with a more limited field really requires more limited scenes, like the two fine groups on a stamnos in the British Museum by the Kleophrades painter.¹ Theseus and the Minotaur are on one side, details helped out by the use of a red-brown wash. On the other side the death of Skiron (Pl. 22*a*).

¹ *J. H. S.*, 30, Pls. 1, 2; E. Pfuhl, *M. u. Z.*, III, 374.

This is very fine, with its marvellous inner lines and wash on the rocks used to produce shading. Realize this and you perceive that it was not because they could not shade that the red-figure masters rarely did so, but because they had a perfect sense of the media and of the conventions to which they must confine themselves in pot-painting. The other remarkable point is the three-quarter face, for the first time a success.

There we may leave the great Kleophrades painter and turn to his greatest contemporary, who was as fine a draughtsman, but shows more of a quiet simplicity, the Berlin painter who worked between 500 and 470 B.C. This great master represents the highest point in a long tradition. Himself he learnt his art from Phintias and Euthymides; and he taught Hermonax, who in his turn taught the best of the classical masters, the Achilles painter. Thus from Phintias to the Achilles painter we can trace the work of one school for almost a century.

The masterpiece after which the Berlin painter is named is a big amphora of rather old-fashioned shape, in Berlin,¹ mostly covered in black glaze, but with light handles. An ivy zone runs round the neck and there is just one subject on each side. Actually there are three figures on the front, but so compacted as to make a single subject. They are a seilen, Hermes and a doe. On the reverse the single figure is so much more extended as to occupy as much space as the sub-

¹ *Ibid.*, 473; *J. H. S.*, 31, Pls. 15, 16; J. D. Beazley, *Der Berliner Maler*, Pls. 1-5.

ject on the obverse. This seilen, named Orochares, is stepping gingerly along with small regard for the lyre in his left hand, but in fear and trembling lest he should spill one precious drop from the brimming bowl in his right. You must think of him as following round to catch up Hermes, who is the guest of the satyrs and has emptied one cup (Pl. 23). Hermes, in front of whom stands the seilen Oreimachos with lyre and plectrum looking back at his brother, has emptied goblet and jug. The doe tripping between them is fascinated by the glittering cup and caduceus. This amazing vase was painted in the first decade of the fifth century, but where can you find a finer composition? As for the delicate outlines, muscles, inner markings, fine hands and forearms, the three-quarter foot of the seilen, one might study them with unflagging pleasure and be ever more impressed that so much could be achieved with such economy of line.

It is often instructive to compare a great work of art with a similar subject treated in a different manner by a totally different school. And after studying this seilen one may look at Leonardo's well-known drawing of a naked fisherman. The two have in common a similar sureness of outline, but it is the Greek who shows the greater restraint, as well as the greater cleanness.

The two brothers of the Berlin seilens appear on an amphora in Munich;¹ just one figure each side and no ornamentation whatsoever. This shows well the painter's special concern to make his contours inter-

¹ *Ibid.*, Pl. 6.

esting by the careful disposition of long projections radiating from the centre of the design — arms or legs, tails or big objects held in the hands. I have already remarked that a good outline tracing will sometimes give a better impression of an artist's power of line than a photograph. To gain this one may study Beazley's drawings from an amphora of Nolan shape in Vienna,¹ again with two single figures: a young hoplite armed and ready for parade, another stripped, standing easy, after drill. Note the clever use of relief lines on the left leg of the armed man, bringing his leg well forward; while the absence of relief lines on the outsides of the thighs of the other youth gives recession in depth and suggests roundness. Inevitably we think of a contemporary marble athlete, the Strangford youth in the British Museum.² The Berlin painter's technique and drawing may also be well judged from other tracings of single figures each taken from a stamnos which has several persons upon it.³ One shows a young hoplite, from a stamnos in Castle Ashby, on which the same relief-line skill is at once apparent, the other a hoplite from a vase of similar shape in Munich which illustrates both the skilled use of line and the painter's marked fondness for long, projecting limbs and things radiating from the centre.

The Berlin painter, then, is perhaps the greatest — certainly one of the greatest — of painters or, if you will, draughtsmen of the ripe archaic period.

¹ *Ibid.*, Pl. 19.

² *C. A. H.*, Pls. II, 18a.

³ J. D. Beazley, *op. cit.*, Pl. 28.

But, of course, we know that even in the first few decades of the fifth century there were second-class men. And, lest there should be an impression that all were of the first class, we must sometimes look at the work of a lesser man too. Yet the general level was so high that, did we not know of the Berlin painter, we should have the highest opinion of his contemporary — Myson. This artist was influenced to no small extent by the Kleophrades painter. One cannot forget the latter's Iliupersis which at its right end opened with the quiet scene of the two Athenians, Akamas and Demophon, greeting their old grandmother, the captive Aithra. Myson, influenced perhaps by this scene, painted the same subject on a calyx-krater in the British Museum; ¹ only here the brothers are leading the old lady back to freedom. Myson had not the superb feeling for pattern, the fine exuberance controlled by pure intellect, which the Berlin painter and Leonardo da Vinci possessed, but his characterization is excellent. The poor old woman, utterly dazed, does not recognize these stalwart grandsons. Is she really to be free, or does another captivity await her? She does not know, and she does not really care. It is just very, very trying to be moved again. At least Myson has this to his credit: he has given us the first picture in the world of the pathetic side of old age.²

And now for a remarkable artist, the Pan painter, who worked between about 480 and 450 B.C. He was certainly a pupil of Myson and is the chief representa-

¹ J. D. Beazley, *Vases in America*, fig. 30.

² In literature there is a much earlier picture — Laertes, at the end of the Odyssey.

tive and only great artist of the so-called Mannerist school, the school which tended to a stylization of the archaic. He gets his name from the magnificent bell-krater in Boston,¹ with a wild goat-Pan pursuing a shepherd. On the main side Artemis and Actaeon (Pl. 24a). Beazley calls this "perhaps the most finished group in all vase-painting." "There is no finer vase in Boston, there is no finer vase anywhere," he says. I cannot help feeling this is going a little too far. The real charm of the Pan painter lies in the shock of change which his admirable technique produces. After contemplating Leonardo one is charmed, though in a different way, by Crivelli. And after hours of contemplation of the great vases of the early ripe and of the ripe archaic schools one gets a certain thrill from the great mannerist. But one still feels that Euphronios, Euthymides, Kleophrades and the master of the Berlin amphora produced at their best even finer work than did the Pan painter. The amazing thing about this artist is what may be termed his surprising elegance. Look at Artemis with her subtle classical profile, and the exquisite forearm and right hand; Actaeon is an oiled and polished courtier. Absolutely no feeling of tragedy pervades this death scene, which is just an elegant play.

There is another picture with a touch almost of Russian ballet on a fine hydria in the British Museum.² A twirl, a skip and a jump by Perseus, a graceful

¹ J. D. Beazley, *op. cit.*, fig. 70; *F. R.*, Pl. 118; E. Pfuhl, *M. u. Z.* III, 475, 476, 783; J. D. Beazley, *Der Pan-Maler*, Pls. 1-4.

² E. Pfuhl, *M. u. Z.*, III, 474; *J. H. S.*, 32, Pl. 6; J. D. Beazley, *Der Pan-Maler*, Pl. 5, 1.

flourish of the sickle and the Gorgon's head is in the bag, then off stage to a weird, slightly decadent tune by Scriabin. Athena with her impossibly long double spear is just an accessory because our painter loves the archaic so. But even her long stride is part of a dance.

But look at the Pan painter in quieter mood on a lekythos in the British Museum;¹ the "boyhood of Apollo" (Pl. 24*b*). A smaller vase like this, in its day a cheap little pot, which the Pan painter turned out in an odd moment, really shows him to better advantage. For a moment he has forgotten that he is the virtuoso of the great krater, that brilliant scintillation is expected of him, and we have a chance to study his exquisite line and fine feeling. Remove the bow and quiver and we have got just an Athenian brother and sister, twelve- and fourteen-year-olds. It is sometimes said that Greek artists could not draw children, that they knew no middle course between the mannikins of the Laokoön group and the awkward child held by the Hermes of Praxiteles, and this is generally true. But the British Museum lekythos proves the Pan painter a notable exception.

Here is a sudden glimpse of a world very wise, very restrained, ruled by reason, schooled in moderation, and yet surprisingly, refreshingly, rather delightfully young.

¹ *J.H.S.*, 32, Pl. 7; J. D. Beazley, *Der Pan-Maler*, Pl. 25, 1. One of the most remarkable vases by this painter, with as much of strength and power as of elegance, is the Pelike in Athens now adequately published by Beazley, *op. cit.*, Pls. 7-11, 1.

IV

RIPE ARCHAIC AND EARLY CLASSICAL CUP-PAINTING

THE cup-painters enjoyed their greatest activity between the years 500 and 450 B.C.

Athens, it must be remembered, was at this time in an extraordinarily favourable position. The power gained by Peisistratus and Hippias had not been diminished, but rather enhanced by the Cleisthenic democracy. She created the first international sensation in 490 at Marathon, reinforced it in 480 dramatically at Salamis; and proceeded, under the guidance of men of genius, to found that league of Free States known as the Confederacy of Delos. She continued to welcome foreign residents and to encourage trade supported by an unimpeachable coinage. At the same time she produced Aeschylus — the greatest poet since Homer — and her reputation for political ability, economic wisdom and literary power drew to this hospitable city the best brains and finest artists of the Greeks. Kalamis, Polygnotos the Thasian, Kresilas the Cretan, were but some of the many artists who made their way to Athens in the first half of the fifth century.

In such a setting, with the stimulus of the finest Attic and other Greek art around them, and with a growing market, home and foreign, ever ready to pur-

chase their fragile wares, the Athenian cup-painters flourished exceedingly.

The one whom we have first to consider perhaps learnt his craft in the workshop of the famous Euphronios. His name is not known to us, but he is generally called the Panaitios painter; a great draughtsman, much influenced, of course, by Euphronios, but with a quite individual style. His people have a peculiar cast of countenance, generally big-nosed, always big-headed. Inside a cup in the British Museum is a youth catching a hare,¹ and from this it is apparent how the painter loves to get a wheel-like effect out of his figures inside the tondo of a cup. For so early a draughtsman he is particularly successful with the three-quarter view of a torso; and if the shoulders here baffled him a bit, there is compensation in the clever drawing of the man's belly. This wheel composition comes out in another very fine British Museum cup (Pl. 22*b*).² Here is the man whom Beazley calls the "master of careering movement" at his best, with this pair of charging amazons. One may note the points where feet, hands, heads, touch the rim and the rim itself, of course, a running maeander. There is a positive illusion in the design of two fast chariot-wheels racing one another. The contrast of shut lips and open, invented more than a century back by the Nessos master (Pl. 4*a*), and carried on by his descendant Euphronios in his Herakles and Antaios group (Pl. 16), is here given a new point and differentiates two spirits of war.

¹ E. Pfuhl, *M. u. Z.*, III, 413.

² *C. A. H.*, Pls. II, 28*a*.

Keen, purposeful, tight-lipped is she in the Hellenic panoply; panting, staring, ungoverned, the barbarian. It is the point the Greek artist is making again and again in a brilliant century and a half. Note the delicate hands (the Pan painter could hardly do them better), and the charming shield device of a winged dolphin. A third cup in the British Museum ¹ with *Euphronios epoiesen* on the handle, but certainly drawn by the Panaitios painter, depicts Herakles, the Erymanthian boar and Eurystheus, a splendid composition bringing out a number of our painter's special characteristics such as big hands and noses; good are the side-view torso and the legs of Herakles, and the boar one of the finest bits of animal drawing we have so far seen.

The other side of this cup is even finer. One could form a series of brilliantly drawn horses, the mounts of Exekias' Kastor, of Euphronios' Leagros, and here the team of the Panaitios painter's chariot; but the climax is yet to come. Perhaps the best figure is the charioteer; his outline, relief lines and inner lines about perfect. Figures he could sometimes do in unusual positions better than any of his contemporaries; Hermes, for example, with his downward Panaitian look is a good composition, but his hat, an afterthought, is as silly as his limbs are good.

His most brilliant follower, too individual to be called just a pupil, is known as the Brygos painter. He painted for a potter named Brygos, and was certainly influenced by the Panaitios painter, whose

¹ *F. R.*, Pl. 23; *E. Pfuhl, M. u. Z.*, III, 401, 402, 405.

style he seems to carry on in a more delicate technique, though he has a tendency to put into his drawing violent gestures, violent passions, violent situations.

First a quiet cup in London.¹ The inside seems Panaitian in the big-headedness of the young man *Pilipos*; but even this early symposium cup has something of violence. Philippos has snatched the flutes from the girl and bidden her dance to his song. And fluting is her job, not dancing. There is a suggestion of the pathos of the hetaira here, of the pathos of the slave who must please, and nothing of the usual impudence in this little Kallisto. A fashion was now coming in for painting on a white ground, and the Byrgos painter made a very fine cup, now in Munich,² which combined white-ground and red-figure technique; inside, the first really mad maenad, stark possessed; a living hissing snake is her hairband, and, as she dances along, she beats out with the thick end of her thyrsos the life of a squalling wild cat. Woe betide the Pentheus who is found spying upon her! On the outside of the same cup is a superb composition of the calm but awful wine god and his votaries; a booted Marsyas, dancing, playing maenads, and on the other side in the centre a maenad with a snake and thyrsos beating off a wild seilenos. The fury of the thiasos is in the painter's strongest style. The Brygos painter's best and most daring seilen-vase is in the British Museum.³ Seilenoi are made to go pretty far

¹ *Ibid.*, 432.

² *F. R.*, Pl. 49.

³ *Ibid.*, Pl. 47; E. Pfuhl, *M. u. Z.* III, 429, 424.

in their violence by not a few of the ripe archaic vase-painters. Yet the Brygos painter outstrips them all; he touches the highest point of pure unalloyed audacity when he lets them loose on the goddesses of high Olympos (Pl. 25). Of course the fault lay with Dionysos for bringing them into heaven, and now one seilen steps onto the very altar of Zeus and with his brother assaults the maiden goddess Iris; she is of course a sturdy wench, and anyhow she has wings and is bound to escape; but the Wine god is shocked, the first really shocked person in art! Turn the cup and behold worse things—the blasphemy of blasphemies: four of them advance on the Queen of Heaven; Hermes is frankly horrified. Well it is for Hera, this day, that Athena once brought Herakles to live with the Immortal Gods, for that man of action will soon deal with this incredible, this fantastic business.

One may note, by the way, that on this picture he is the *Thasian* Herakles, trowsered, rather pyjama-clad, as he appears on the late fifth- and fourth-century coins of Thasos. Was our Brygos painter perhaps a Thasian? Remember that the first and foremost of the great fresco-painters, Polygnotos, was a native of Thasos and his fresco-painting activities began about 475 B.C. Is there any connection, or is it mere coincidence? Notable on this cup is the use of dilute wash, applied almost in the manner of a fresco worker, and this is a point which might be made by anyone seeking for a possible relationship between fresco- and vase-painter.

The Brygos painter could be furiously tragic as

well as comic, as we see from a cup in the Louvre.¹ First the inside, so quiet and dignified. Old Phoinix on a fine chair waited upon by a pleasing little Briseis. But the outside has an Iliupersis which for violence and horror far surpasses the Kleophrades hydria scene. Below, two furious Greeks giving each a coup-de-grace to a Trojan. Their names are muddled — the Brygos painter was not a scholar — a Trojan woman fleeing, and furious Andromache (misspelt) advancing to the attack with a table leg, while the boy Astyanax, a delightful figure, flees. But the real horror is on the other side. The Kleophrades painter seemed to achieve all, with his old feeble Priam seated upon the altar with the mangled corpse of dead Astyanax on his knee, and with pitiless Neoptolemos cutting the old king down. The Brygos painter achieves a more subtle horror, for his Neoptolemos wields the very corpse of the grandchild as a club to dash out the brains of the grandsire (Pl. 21*b*).²

Akamas leading off the captive Polyxena merely supplies the quiet note needed to enhance the fury of the regicide.

A contrast again: a cup in Würzburg,³ perhaps the most pleasing of all extant komos-cups. What a procession — staggering dance, squealing pipes, strumming banjo, ribald song. The man could draw.

¹ *F. R.*, Pl. 25; E. Pfuhl, *M. u. Z.*, III, 419, 420, 428.

² An early B F painter had, however, foreshadowed the notion; E. Gerhard, *Etrusk. u. Kampanische Vasenbilder*, Pl. 21. For a somewhat similar motif compare the scene on the Pan painter's Busiris Pelike, J. D. Beazley, *Der Pan-Maler*, Pls. 9, 11.

³ E. Pfuhl, *M. u. Z.*, III, 421-423*a*; *F. R.*, Pl. 50.

Round and round the vase it goes, and again we meet the Brygan touch of the over-sensitive hetaira. Note the delicate drawing of her hand balancing the kylix by its foot, and of her right arm pushing away the drunken reveller (Pl. 26*a*).

One may feel tempted to see a curious streak of sympathy for the slave-girl in more than one drawing by this artist. Look, for example, at the end of it all, the inside of the same cup (Pl. 26*b*). Who shows up well at the end of the feast, if not the hetaira again?

Yet it was no Greek, but an English poet who wrote about "wringing brows" and "ministering angels."

Duris, like the Brygos painter, worked with the Panaitios painter, was trained by him, and would seem the greatest of the cup-painters had we not got his Brygan colleague. Duris was sometimes very great in his work, but he was also very uneven. Perhaps the truth was that too many outside influences at first swayed him; taught by the Panaitios painter, working for Kleophrades, intrigued by the Brygos painter, just where was he? But in time he found his feet and his own special style. The Vienna Achilles Armour cup, the Berlin Schoolmaster cup and the Vatican Jason cup are all masterpieces. His activity was great and he worked for many years, for over one hundred and forty of his vases and fragments survive, about thirty of them signed *Doris egraphsen*. One may mention first a kylix in Vienna:² two people with

² *Ibid.*, Pl. 53; E. Pfuhl, *M. u. Z.*, III, 455, 456; J. C. Hoppin, *Hand-book*, 266, 267.

large heads looking almost Panaitian in their fine and detailed pattern. The spear almost bisecting the circle is a pleasing touch, overlapping is well managed, the perspective of the shield is good.

His style also appears to owe something to the Kleophrades painter, notably on a kantharos of his in Brussels.¹ The kantharos, though so frequent in vase-paintings, is a very rare shape in pottery, whence it may be assumed that most kantharoi shown on vase-paintings represent vases made of metal. The Herakles and amazons on the Brussels wine-cup make a splendid composition, and the love Duris obviously had for fine weapons is apparent here too.

The individual and really mature style of Duris is well seen on a cup in Vienna² on which the theme is again fine armour. Inside are Odysseus and young Neoptolemos admiring the arms of Achilles; outside, upon one side, Ajax and Odysseus drawing swords on each other for the possession of the armour. One may note the rendering of force in the men seizing the right arm of Ajax. Agamemnon occupies the centre. Upon the other side of the cup the Greek chiefs are voting, presided over by Athena (Pl. 27*a*). Almost it might be the worthy citizens of Athens at their voting in the *Eumenides*. One must not overlook the delight of Odysseus and the grief of Ajax.

The most famous, perhaps, of all the cups of Duris is the Berlin "school-cup."³ Below, a flute-player

¹ *Ibid.*, 233; *F. R.*, Pl. 74; E. Pfuhl, *M. u. Z.*, III, 453.

² *Ibid.*, 459, 460, 463; *F. R.*, Pl. 54; J. C. Hoppin, *Handbook*, I, 268.

³ *Ibid.*, 214, 215; *F. R.*, Pl. 136; E. Pfuhl, *M. u. Z.*, III, 468.

and a boy singing, a master correcting an arithmetic exercise, a pedagogue. Above, a music lesson; a recitation from the Homeric cycle; a pedagogue. But are they pedagogues or proud fathers? Was ever a pedagogue so polished a gentleman? The drawing again is extremely fine.

Last we take one of the later and best cups by Duris in the Vatican.¹ Jason, seeking the golden fleece, has been swallowed by the dragon; but, under the influence of Athena's magic, Jonah and the whale are anticipated (Pl. 27*b*). Athena's delicate spear-point and beautiful helmet remind us of the painter's love of arms. As for the dragon, what a good time Duris had with the pattern it makes, and yet what an utterly reptilian reptile it is; Jason is excellent.

The fourth great cup-painter of the period is Makron. He worked entirely, as far as we know, for the Potter Hieron and all the vases with *Hieron epoiesen*, except three, are by Makron, who signs *Makron egraphsen* on his masterpiece, the kotyle in Boston — a big skyphos or bowl. His second best, perhaps, is another big bowl in the British Museum,² one side of which shows Eumolpos, Zeus, Dionysos, Amphi-rite, Poseidon.

The male figures here are good; the Amphi-rite better still. Makron always gets more subtlety out of drapery, and the outstanding beauty of his drawing is in his rendering of women's clothes (Pl. 28*a*).

¹ *Ibid.*, 467.

² *Ibid.*, 437; *C. V. A.*, Brit. Mus., 5, Pl. 28, 2.

But his masterpiece is the Boston skyphos,¹ which I am tempted to call one of the most charming vases extant in the world. The story is the eternal triumph of Helen (Pl. 28*b*). First her abduction by Alexandros, Aeneas accompanying; Aphrodite, Eros, Peitho helping; the boy in the background, noting, commenting, looking forward to tale-bearing as soon as Menelaos returns. But note how Makron prefers to drape even his men to their delightfully brogued feet, though it is again in the women's clothes, soft chitons and heavy cloaks, that he excels. Turn the vase: Troy has fallen and it is ten years later; Menelaos draws his sword to kill Helen, Aphrodite intervenes; Priam, Kriseus, Kriseis, just give local colour. Here the men are truly admirable, the women even better.

You can equal this vase in the products of three or four painters including those of Euthymides and the Brygos painter, but you can hardly better it. Yet what a refined contrast is this fall-of-Troy scene to the horrors of Kleophrades and the Brygos painter! And note that while the Brygos painter almost always made bad blunders in his spelling, Makron was usually correct. Makron was too great an artist ever to become academic, but compared to the Brygos painter he was highly educated, a point which comes out not only in his spelling but in his restrained art.

I am coming now to the early classical painters of about 470 to 450 B.C., and this seems an appropriate place for a moment's retrospect. It has been noted

¹ F. R., Pl. 85; E. Pfuhl, *M. u. Z.*, III, 435, 436; J. C. Hoppin, *Handbook*, II, 53.

that toward the end of the sixth century a change occurred in Greek art, when through attempts to render the third dimension, and through a better knowledge of anatomical structure, the painters extended their range. To begin with it was not easy for them to express their new knowledge; Phintias had his awkwardness, Euphronios in his Herakles and Antaios had the knowledge, but failed in the whole big composition. But they learnt quickly, and in Euthymides' Theseus, in the vases of the Berlin painter and Panaitios painter the artist's new skill is properly controlled by his sense of pattern, and by his passion for moderation and restraint. From now on the artists seem truly able to make their people conform to the standards of the age, to display dignity, effortless control, reserve, thought; in short "humanity." So, in the journey of Greek art towards realism, we come to the most amazing period which is tempered by this perfect reserve, the period of the sculptures on the temple of Zeus at Olympia and in painting represented by the best of the vase-painters whom we have now to consider.¹

The first of these is the Pistoxenos painter. He worked for Euphronios when the latter must have been an old man, and to his school he owed something. But his main strength lies in what one may term his Olympianism.

His Herakles and Geropso skyphos in Schwerin (Pl. 29)² has some of the same grim but magnifi-

¹ On this subject see J. D. Beazley, *Vases in America*, p. 141 f.

² E. Pfuhl, *M. u. Z.*, III, 471 and I, 485 f.

Equally startling is his famous white-ground polychrome cup in the British Museum ¹ with a figure usually called Aphrodite riding on a goose. One may look and look at eye, ear, profile, and at the right arm, shoulder to wrist, and especially the hands. "Aphrodite" is here something of a conventional label tacked on to a young Athenian girl who could have ridden even a goose, were the breed so large, with an effortless dignity.

Next the Penthesileia painter. His tradition and feeling are very much like those of the Pistoxenos painter — so much so that both Furtwängler and Pfuhl thoroughly confused the two artists, while it was Beazley who first clearly distinguished the work of one from the other.

One of his most brilliant vases is a kotyle in Boston ² which shows his debt to older and newer styles. It is the birth of spring. You must imagine that there is an unearthly stirring among the dead leaves of the woodland "and two goatmen rush up to see what is afoot; one starts back aghast, the other capers and bellows in excitement; for a goddess is rising slowly, awfully out of the ground." ³ The goatmen are perhaps the sons of the Pan painter's terrifying Pan, but they are Calibans, relatively gentle monsters, the girl Kore is as delicate as the little Aphrodite on the goose.

Mostly the Penthesileia painter painted cups, and on his two greatest filled the whole interior space with

¹ *Ibid.*, 498; *C. A. H.*, Pls. II, 50b.

² J. D. Beazley, *Vases in America*, fig. 81.

³ *Ibid.*, 130 f.

a mighty design. Supreme, of course, is one of these, his masterpiece — the Penthesileia cup in Munich,¹ from which he takes his name. A successful attempt, it has been called, to “cram an Agincourt into an Oe.”² A very big cup, with magnificent polychrome decoration. The Penthesileia painter was no fresco-painter turning his attention to a cup;³ for its deliberate limitation within a tondo precludes any slavish imitation. The scene is a favourite one in ancient art and supplies another link with Olympia, for Panainos, brother of Phidias, painted it on one of the marble screens that surrounded the throne of Olympian Zeus. The theme is the love of Achilles for Penthesileia springing into life at the moment when he kills her in battle and they set eyes on one another for the first and last time (Pl. 31*a*) — a tremendous emotional theme which you would think only the greatest sculptor would adequately handle, which you would think could never be conveyed on a vase-picture. But here it is overwhelmingly successful. And the painter was content to leave it at this for the inside and to decorate the outside of the same cup with nothing tragic or heroic, but just the things he liked to draw best — young boys and ponies. Delightful are the boys, delightful the ponies. He is so good at horses that an alternative name for him in German parlance is the *Pferdemeister*. Note especially the lines under the bellies and the three-dimensional effect attained. Perhaps there is something of Albert Dürer about the

¹ *F. R.*, Pl. 75; *E. Pfuhl*, *M. u. Z.*, III, 501; *C. A. H.*, Pls. II, 50*a*.

² *C. A. H.*, v, 434.

³ As Furtwängler thought.

Penthesileia painter, but Dürer, whose famous Knight may be compared, was distinctly less sure of himself. In spite of the difference between a knight's war-horse and a boy's pony it is clear who loved and understood horseflesh best. Moreover, as Clive Bell has justly pointed out,¹ in Dürer's work in its final form "fine conception is hopelessly ruined by a mass of undigested symbolism." The Greek picture is not thus marred.

Glance at another cup of his with horses, now in Hamburg.² The boys very like the last and the horse too; it is a lovely little beast; wicked eyes, ears laid back, a kicker and a biter (Pl. 31*b*).

Last, a brilliant piece of polychrome pottery by this painter, in New York,³ a spool, or bobbin, for rolling up wool, white-ground and of amazing drawing and composition. Eos seizing Kephalos; Apollo and Hyakinthos. One of the most perfect bits of painting Athens produced in the age of Kimon.

It is surprising to us to think of these things as intended for practical use, and yet it is clear that they were so used.⁴ Think of winding wool on this, then dropping it. Think of drinking wine from the Penthesileia cup. It is as though you were to play cards on the face of the Gioconda, or card your wool on a Rembrandt etching.

¹ *Art*, p. 228.

² *F. R.*, Pl. 56, 4, 5, 6; E. Pfuhl, *M. u. Z.*, III, 500.

³ *Bulletin of Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 23, pp. 303-306.

⁴ The possibility of displaying wealth was not in the fifth century equal to the desire. You could own four-horse chariots, fine textiles and fine domestic and table furniture; but few of the luxuries which characterised even the Hellenistic age.

Next we must take the work of a slightly younger painter of the early classical period, the Sotades painter, who worked for a potter called Sotades, a man who made a speciality of queer out-of-the-way shapes; among them were rhytons or drinking-horns shaped as a sphinx, a crocodile, a pygmy, an astragalos, and an amazon on horseback.

Well known is the beautiful sphinx-rhyton in the British Museum,¹ of elaborate technique — white, and red-figure eked out with gold ornaments. A little seilen is running below; above, delightful details, which are charming, elegant, flippant. First Kekrops, the strange thing, getting a drink from Nike; then two girls running up to see the weird sight; finally a girl and boy in conversation.

In the British Museum too are three famous little cups with wish-bone handles; the best a marvel of delicate drawing surpassing the subtlest of the old-style Japanese pictures that convey the atmosphere of garden or orchard; a girl tiptoeing to pick an apple from a tree.² The girl requires no comment; but where, even in the finest of Minoan art, can you find the equal of this tree?

It is the British Museum which also owns the superb Astragalos vase of the Sotades painter.³ Its subject the dance of the little clouds (Pl. 32*b*). The notion of some comedy chorus is behind it, for an ugly, comic little choregos gesticulates before the cloud-girls,

¹ *F. R.*, Pl. 93; *C. V. A.*, Brit. Mus., 5, Pls. 40, 42.

² *J. C. Hoppin*, *Handbook*, II, 430; *E. Pfuhl*, *M. u. Z.*, III, 527; *C. A. H.*, Pls., II, 52*b*.

³ *F. R.*, Pl. 136; *C. V. A.*, Brit. Mus., 5, Pls. 26, 27.

leading them on. It really is too incredibly Peter-Pan-ish — the whole thing. But so lightly, happily produced as to preclude even the faintest suggestion of sentimentality. One more, this time at Castle Goluchow in Poland — a kantharos. An outline drawing will perhaps best help us to appreciate this brilliant painter's sense of line and design and comedy (Pl. 32a).¹

First we are aware of his kinship with the Penthe-sileia painter, secondly we are tempted by this vase to trace his ancestry. There is a touch of Brygan influence in his make-up, but it is slight and his spiritual grandfather is surely Skythes with his love of little comics and big-headed, quaint Theseus-persons. The Sotades painter's people are a refined edition of that. Admirable are these little people on the kantharos, but they are mildly harmless little seilens, mere comedians compared with the formidable fellows of the archaic tradition.

It is with the Sotades painter that, were I willing to ignore the decline, I should like to end this course, for after him vases and the painting on them begin to degenerate. We shall find pure delight still, but not so often nor so fresh as before. And one truly great artist is still to come, the grandson of the Berlin painter (figuratively if not actually, but perhaps actually) — I mean the Achilles painter.

A few men trained in the older tradition of restraint and self-control still came near to perfection in their

¹ J. D. Beazley, *Greek Vases in Poland*, Pl. 16 and p. 27 f.

work. But Athens morally and politically was transgressing the old Greek standards.

In 454 B.C. by a decree of the Athenian people the treasury of the Delian Confederacy was transferred from Delos to Athens, and by a few strokes of the chisel a league of free states became an Athenian Empire. Seven years later and they began to build the Parthenon — with other people's money.

Pride of Empire, the greatest outrage to the law of moderation and decency in the eyes of the Greek, sat upon the Athenians. The young artist who has been interpreting to the world the fine spirit of self-restraint, moderation, reasonableness can no longer interpret that which is not there. For a time the older artist who was brought up in the finer tradition may continue to express the purpose of his youth. But he will find no successors in a tyrant state dominating an empire.

V

CLIMAX AND DECLINE

THE year 454 B.C., in which the Treasury of the Delian Confederacy was transferred, on an insufficient excuse,¹ from an island to Athens, is a landmark in Athenian and in Greek history. More than that, it is a landmark in world history, for it marks the end of the Hellenic moral experiment. Dates are of interest just here: in 458 B.C. Aeschylus produced the *Oresteia* in Athens and within two years of that date the sculptures of the temple of Zeus in Olympia were completed. Those two achievements, the one in literature, the other in plastic art, mark the highest point of all. Both are a kind of apotheosis of the Greek ideal "know yourself; don't exceed; govern life by *Sōphrosynē* — moderation." Could the Greeks maintain this ideal? More, could Athens, the acknowledged leader of Greece in the arts, maintain this ideal? That was the question. If Athens failed what hope for the rest of the Greeks in the end? And Athens did fail. Four years after the production of the *Oresteia*, an excuse was found to get the huge league funds into Athens; and the result, the deliberately aimed-at result, was to create an Athenian Empire, to establish the domination of the Athenians over their intellectual equals. That is the unforgivable

¹ C. A. H., v, 84 f.

form of tyranny. A superman, by virtue of superiority, may be justified in autocracy. A highly civilized state may in virtue of its culture confer beneficent rule on those who are morally barbarians. But a free democracy must not, dare not, play the tyrant to other intellectually equal free democracies. There is no more stupendous defiance of the moral code of decency and moderation conceivable than this.

Now if it be true that art expresses the purpose of man, then the art of men who have had such high aims and have so violently fallen will express somehow and subtly that change in their purpose.

Athens made the great betrayal. And so her art first slowly changed to artificiality, and then drooped to degeneration. Slowly, though: that is important, for in art these things happen gradually. There were also some adverse circumstances, other than political and moral, which affected Greek vase-painting and caused it to degenerate relatively. The development of brilliant fresco-painting was one, for we are now in the age of Polygnotos of Thasos, and the best draughtsmen naturally turned fresco-painters, separating from craftsmen pot-painters, who acquired an "inferiority complex" and became mechanical. Apart from that, however, vases degenerated absolutely because out of Greek art altogether something was perishing; out of sculpture, as much as out of painting, something of freshness and of the fire born of the ideal of *Sōphrosynē* was going — and presently gone altogether.

A new style is coming in. The Penthesileia and

Sotades painters had not yet been tainted by it. Those two still carried on the traditional Greek sense of simplicity, but their followers were not many. The public, or the artist, now wanted something more ceremonious, for ceremony is a pillar of empire, and we get from some of the younger painters, ladies so perfectly elegant and reserved that costume designers might have employed them as mannequins to display their wares. While the Niobid painter gives us, instead of the fury and horror of battles, a polite, imperialistic and sometimes almost waxen tableau vivant.¹ Indeed we cannot do better than watch the process at work, beginning with the Niobid painter. First a vase of his painted still in the old, dignified, simple mode, a vase possibly datable to about 458 B.C. and now in D. M. Robinson's collection in Baltimore.² Its date is suggested by its scene, which almost seems to represent the opening lines of the second part of the Oresteian trilogy, the *Choephoroi*. It is possible that this represents Electra flanked by two women of the chorus bringing the appropriate offerings to the tomb of Agamemnon. If so, the date of the vase is that of the play. These girls have all the fine delicacy, the poise, the self-control and modesty of early classical art.

But pass on a few years when the ceremonial notion has begun to take root and look at his Niobid kalyxkrater in the Louvre to which he owes his modern

¹ *F. R.*, Pls. 26-28; E. Pfuhl, *M. u. Z.*, III, 505; see also J. D. Beazley, *Vases in America*, pp. 142 f., 146.

² *A. J. A.*, 1932, Pls. 14, 15.

name (Pl. 33).¹ It has been one of the most discussed and admired Greek vases in the world. On one side Athena and the Argonauts (probably) grouped among landscapy rocks. This may be the work of a brilliant draughtsman with a fine sense of design and composition; but it is not quite convincing, for all that. Each figure is rather consciously and politely posed; all is very careful, single figures quite pleasing, but the whole is impressively cold; no more.

It must be confessed that although the Niobid painter has left several big handsome pots and although he perhaps throws more light than any of his fellow-craftsmen on the work of those celebrated fresco-painters, Mikon and Polygnotos, he nevertheless lacks that essential quality which would have made his works attractive things as well as historical and mythological monuments. The too frequent three-quarter faces and the unsuccessful horse are derivatives from wall-painting technique and unsuited to the medium. On the other side the slaughter of the Niobids is no improvement on the Argonauts. In fact the whole composition is unsuitable to a vase; yet it was just this treatment which was taken up by another later clever draughtsman, the Meidias painter. Softened by him, debased by his copyists, transferred to south Italy, it resulted in some of the miserable products of the later Lucanian and Apulian styles.

Contemporary with some of the Niobid painter's

¹ *F. R.*, Pl. 108; *E. Pfuhl*, *M. u. Z.*, III, 492; *C. V. A.*, Louvre, I, Pls. 1-4.

earlier vases is the fine restful work produced by the Villa Giulia painter. Buschor and Pfuhl have underrated him, calling him "a rather correct and academic gentleman." His compositions, his quiet reserve, are at times really admirable. Take part of a bell-krater in the British Museum with Hermes and the infant Dionysos.¹ Here is far the best picture of a hackneyed theme, which shows us how relative all our criticism is. If we chide this painter for not maintaining the standard of the Brygos painter or the Berlin master, we may still admit that this simple fragment can in treatment bear comparison with the Hermes attributed to Praxiteles.

A stamnos in Oxford ² is again delightful as a composition, but of these very correct women, who are making the preparations for a feast, a fashion plate might almost be made.

His work was continued by his pupil, the Chicago painter, about whom I must say something if only because on a stamnos in Boston ³ he drew so charming a figure of a slender flute girl, truly pleasant, even though admittedly a little mannered (Pl. 35*a*).

A certain novelty appears on a stamnos of his in Cracow.⁴ The boy with the helmet is still in the older manner, the boy with the spear (Pl. 36*a*) has a treatment which makes us feel that we have moved far from Kleophrades or the Berlin painter.

Yet the Berlin painter's influence was to come to

¹ J. D. Beazley, *Vases in America*, fig. 93.

² E. Pfuhl, *M. u. Z.*, III, 516.

³ J. D. Beazley, *op. cit.*, fig. 94*b*.

⁴ J. D. Beazley, *Greek Vases in Poland*, Pl. 22.

the surface again. He had trained up a pupil named Hermonax, and the pupil, possibly, the son of Hermonax, was the greatest by far of the vase-painters of the full classical period between about 460 and 430 B.C.: I mean the Achilles painter. Most subtly he manages to combine the proper aristocratic reserve of the Niobid painter and his contemporaries with the dignity and life of the Pistoxenos painter and with, sometimes, a spark of the fire with which the Berlin painter had glowed.

The shapes he most frequently employed were the Nolan amphora and the lekythos; yet his masterpiece is on neither of these, but on a great loutrophoros in Philadelphia, more impressive than the Achilles vase in the Vatican. His drawings vary in quality but are always marked by an honest merit which recalls figures on the best Attic grave-stelai of the fifth century. His pictures are simple, except for the elaborate Philadelphia vase, his figures strong and reliable. Artistically he must have lived aloof from the Periclean jingoism of his time, steeped in the purity of the older ideals. The dignity of his manner is well exemplified in the picture, from a Nolan amphora in Leningrad,¹ of a Nereid with the helmet of Achilles. It is to be noted that his drawing of women's profiles is particularly delicate. The Philadelphia loutrophoros (Pl. 34*a*) is a great funeral vase, over three feet high, from the tomb of a young unmarried soldier killed in battle. Father and son are drawn on the neck of the vase; and on the body, all round, runs a magnificent

¹ *J. H. S.*, 34, p. 217, fig. 28.

battle-scene of Greeks against Greeks;¹ while below is a procession of the dead warrior's friends in solemn mourning — a great vase indeed, with all the dignity of the Parthenon frieze.

It is the same dignity which we may see again in the Soldier's Farewell on a stamnos in the British Museum.² This time, though, the soldier is no youth, but a veteran, a fellow with a handgrip which makes him startlingly real to us.

Better known is the amphora in Paris³ with Euphorbos carrying the child Oedipus — the latter, of course, an unsuccessful mannikin, but Euphorbos showing the Achilles painter in his most dignified manner.

I mentioned this painter's fondness for lekythoi, of which he painted a large number, while he seems to have had numerous pupils whom he trained for the same type of work, since these vases achieved the height of their popularity in his time. He himself produced many of the very finest of such pieces, as for example one in Boston⁴ with a lady and her maid, typical of his fine sure sense of line. Another in Athens⁵ with a boy and girl at a tomb shows the same character and a subtle individuality in the treatment of the boy.

It is in the drawing on these white-ground lekythoi and upon those of the Achilles painter's immediate successors that the full classical style finds its true

¹ This battle scene only is by the Achilles painter, the others by a colleague.

² *J. H. S.*, 34, Pl. 15; E. Pfuhl, *M. u. Z.*, III, 524.

³ *Ibid.*, 521.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 537.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 548.

expression, especially if we group with them some of the finer vases that show the life of women, like certain big wedding loutrophoroi and lebetes. There is calmness, without strain; what you might call "poise," without affectation.

Indeed there are still some vases and vase-paintings to come of delight and real charm; but ever fewer and fewer as the years go on.

One more great painter we have to look at and then a few academic persons out of whom the joy of life, the fire of inspiration, if they ever had it, has been crushed by the bitterness of the great war of Greek against Greek. This one fine painter was Polygnotos; a great name, indeed, but never to be confused with Polygnotos of Thasos. He was a younger contemporary and his floruit must lie between 450 and 430 B.C.

Full justice has not yet been done to this artist, for one of the best known vases with the signature *Polygnotos egrapsen* is a poor effort, a small amphora in the British Museum¹ by which it is not fair to judge his powers, since it must have been a work of his youth.

One of the best, perhaps, of his surviving works is a magnificent, tall, slender loutrophoros in Toronto.² Recall for a moment the Achilles painter's loutrophoros of the young soldier, which depicted him on one side, his father on the other. This vase, for the tomb of an unmarried girl, corresponds. Upon the neck it shows her on the one side, her mother on the

¹ *Ibid.*, 519; J. C. Hoppin, *Handbook*, II, 377; *C. V. A.*, Brit. Mus., 4, Pl. 17.

² *Greek Vases in Toronto*, II, Pls. 106-108.

other. In passing note the superb finish of the elegant borders; neck, shoulder and base. The main scene calls for closer study (Pl. 34*b*). Because the girl died unmarried, a mystic wedding must be hers in the next world, and it is depicted on the vase; a bridegroom laureate, a bride crowned, bridesmaids with torches. The tall shape of the vase has elongated the figures. But what a charm of detail, of chiton and himation; hair and pleasant sponge-bag cap! And they are all so dignified, so Periclean. The Toronto vase is truly excellent, though its form and subject do not give full scope to his real skill in composition.

This comes out well on an amphora in the British Museum² on which we take our last look at that great theme, Achilles and Penthesileia. It is a long cry from the Amazon volute-krater by Euphronios in Arezzo to this. It is almost as far from the Munich Penthesileia cup to this amphora. But the composition is very good indeed. Only vitality, and with it any vestige of grand passion and tragedy, have gone out of the theme when we look close. The Amazon queen is no mighty slayer of men, nor Achilles the god-like hero suddenly fallen in love (Pl. 35*b*). She is just a pathetic little schoolgirl and he no better than King Herod slaughtering an innocent. Polygnotos was not even very happy here with a three-quarter face, for the Kleophrades painter half a century before had had more success with his three-quarter face Skiron (Pl. 22*a*).

Polygnotos was the head of a large school the mem-

² *C. V. A.*, Brit. Mus., 3, Pls. 16, 1, and 12, 3.

bers of which adhered closely to his style and tradition. Typical is the work of a pupil called the Lykaon painter, whom I pick on because I can illustrate the general style so well from outline drawings from a bell-krater in Castle Goluchow,¹ and because they show both the Picasso-like fineness of line and the keen zeal for new and surprising perspective — important as an introduction to the kind of thing that is to lead up to the Meidias painter. You see only a part of the scene: the silen Mimas playing a flute, the maenad Polynika, foot on rock, listening (Pl. 36*b*). On part of another scene is a maenad, labelled Mainas, bending to caress a fawn, a little animal which shows our man as a virtuoso of foreshortening.

And so to our last school, that of the Meidias painter who brings us, in his latest efforts, down very near to the end of the century. He was the best painter, one of many, who worked for the potter Meidias, an industrialist apparently producing on a comparatively big scale. But it is not always easy to distinguish between the work of the Meidias painter himself and that of some of his pupils, colleagues and collaborators. He was the cleverest draughtsman of his time, yet rare is a vase-picture of his which shows trace of inspiration or originality of ideas. He seized on the traditions of his time — Parthenonic, Erechthean, the manner of the Nike balustrade and of grave-stelai, good traditions and weak traditions alike — and simply cheapened and popularized them, and

¹ J. D. Beazley, *Greek Vases in Poland*, Pl. 25.

in so doing eliminated the natural charm and dignity that was in them. His pictures are almost without exception pictures of the life of women; women at their toilet, women watching others at their toilet, Aphrodite, Eros, pretty nymphs, plump little dancing-girls playing at being maenads, and here and there depressingly effeminate young men. I suppose even Sir Lawrence Alma Tadema, or those people who painted the things we see reproduced in "chromo" in the bars and parlours of snug little country inns, occasionally produced a good flowing line. Certainly on his best vases the Meidias painter gives us flowing lines that show a real feeling for beauty. But on the whole his is a thoroughly prostituted art, and his general idea of a vase-picture has been aptly summed up in a single German word "Hetzärenhimmel." Most famous, of course, is his hydria in the British Museum (Pl. 37).¹ Above, Polydeukes and Kastor are carrying off the daughters of Leukippos. The first already has his bride in the car, the charioteer Chrysippos waits for Kastor to lift Eriphyle into the second vehicle. Peitho, Aphrodite, Chryseis, Zeus are present; on the lower band of this over-loaded vase is a somewhat degenerate Herakles limply seated in the garden of the Hesperides. But these guardians of the apples like the Leukippids, Aphrodite and her friends are all of them no more than pretty vapid little dancing-girls. The lower frieze, but not the upper, runs right round the vase, which itself is of an admirable shape, and shows a

¹ *F. R.*, Pls. 8, 9; *E. Pfuhl*, *M. u. Z.*, III, 593; *C. A. H.*, Pls. II, 706.

medley of well-grouped, but theatrically posed, mythological personages.

Another hydria in Karlsruhe¹ of the same school gives us a Judgment of Paris which may have delighted some war-worn *fin-de-siècle* Greek of about 400 B.C., but to us its weakness stands confessed. Aphrodite, with her nasty little Erotes, one of them whispering bribes into the ear of Paris, is an unprepossessing woman. Athena is a tinselled travesty on the Chryselephantine Parthenos, allegorical women and Zeus litter the stage while Eris peeps over the top of the cyclorama; below, a tame thiasos with hetairai as maenads and one stage seilen. And look at Paris, Hermes, Dionysos; ill-shapen creatures all. This is painfully bad, and yet the man could draw, for there is one delightful figure I have omitted — Hera. Her tall grace and long, soft drapery take us back to the days of Polygnotos (not the Thasian), and the fineness of line and sheer elegance are an echo of that virtuoso — the Pan painter.

One more vase of the Meidias painter's, the Adonis hydria in Florence,² is worth consideration because it illustrates so well his power over a soft, swinging, flowing line; Eurynoë teasing her sparrow, Paidia on the lap of Hygieia, and the whole atmosphere and outfit of an "Hetärenhimmel."

Our series of Athenian vase-painters ends with Aristophanes, who thought well enough of himself to sign two of the four surviving pots from his brush. His tendency would seem to have been to base him-

¹ F. R., Pl. 30; E. Pfuhl, *M. u. Z.*, III, 595.

² *Ibid.*, 594.

self on the Meidian style, to ape the flowing line and girlish faces and to use them indiscriminately in the wrong situations. A travesty in this manner decorates a gigantomachy cup in Berlin,¹ whereon Ares and Apollo dispose of a pair of girl-faced giants, while a would-be Meidian Hera, dealing with the giant Phoitos, seems to say, "keep that right arm still while I push this thing into your kidney."

With some justice Pfuhl has called Aristophanes "the nastiest vulgarian known to us by name in the whole Kerameikos."

It is a long journey from the first Athenian vase-painter who is a personality — the Nessos painter, to the last Athenian vase-painter with a name — Aristophanes. And by a strange chance two out of the four surviving vases of Aristophanes have as their subject Nessos. The best one is from the interior of a cup in Boston (Pl. 4*b*).² Only two centuries, and what an amazing development! This fellow has learnt all the tricks of the trade: perspective in feet, shins, thighs, chests, shoulders, a facing head, a prettily, neatly composed picture. Wedgwood, Flaxman, Bernard Partridge could hardly have done it better.

But if pattern and power, brilliance and purposeful design are merits, then give me the great striding Herakles of the Nessos painter and the fantastic nightmare monster (Pl. 4*a*) in place of the polite drawing-room centaur of Aristophanes gently threatened by a chorus-boy with a putty club.

¹ *Ibid.*, 587.

² *Ibid.*, 586; *F. R.*, Pl. 129.

Such sharp and violent decline could only lead straight to collapse.

After the disaster of Aegospotamoi and the grim siege of Athens came revolution and disorganization. The potters' factories must have been fairly idle, for their trade was after all a luxury-trade. Not till 393 B.C. was Athens sufficiently reorganized and restored to be able to resume a silver currency. And then, slowly, the Kerameikos, the potters' quarter, revived and the enfeebled tradition of Meidias and his vase-painters broke out into the production of certain gay and somewhat tasteless pots, known as Kertch vases¹ because they are mostly found in South Russia, though made in Attica. Tedious in style and covered with attenuated figures they lasted into the latter part of the fourth century.² Unfortunately it is a fact that when a nation loses an art it rarely manages to lose those who practise it. But after a sufficient interval Athenian red-figure painting petered out — a process long overdue.

A word is called for about the most important offshoot of Attic pottery, the pottery of South Italy. Athens had founded Thurii in 443 B.C. and Thurii, Herakleia in 432 B.C. Both therefore began at the time when the Achilles painter and Polygnotos were still decorating vases in Athens, and their style left its mark on the vases produced by these colonial Athenians. And then, alas, in the fourth century they tried to prolong on alien soil the world of Polygnotos and

¹ See K. Schefold, *Kertscher Vasen*.

² *C. A. H.*, Pls. II, 106b.

Meidias — with disastrous results. Their manner of decorating the South Italian kraters, big in size, clumsy in shape, loaded with an overelaboration of decoration, would make even an "Empire" Sèvres vase seem bearable by comparison. But in contrast to any modern parallel the kraters have frequently a merit in their contribution to our knowledge of mythology and drama.

The picture on one of them, the Medea vase in Munich,¹ will suffice as an illustration. Medea is just knifing her infant, which Jason is too late to save. On the naiskos, above, is written *Kreonteia*, making it obvious that this is an epitome of some lost tragic composition.

This kind of picture is without formal merit of any sort. These puppet gods, heroes, Greeks and orientals have not even the virtue of Hellenistic exuberance. Vitality is unknown to them, and they are steeped in the sentimentality of the imitators of Meidias.

The Greeks would have thought it ill-omened to end with carping criticism; auspicious to conclude with a good word. We must follow their example.

It is often said that the most characteristic manifestation of Greek art is through architecture and sculpture. The statement is true of the fourth century B.C. as well as of the Hellenistic age, periods during which pottery and vase-painting fell to the level of mere craftsmanship and ranked no higher than the decorated porcelains of relatively modern times.

¹ *F. R.*, Pl. 90.

But during the really great period of Greek art — between about 530 and 430 B.C. — it was far otherwise. The only “canvas” for the painter, the only “paper” for the draughtsman, was the surface of a vase. And Greek art at its highest was expressed as finely through the brush of the vase-painter as through the chisel of the sculptor.

Beside the Athenian Korai and the Delphic Charioteer, beside the pedimental groups from Aegina and Olympia, we need not scruple to place a few of the greatest drawings on Attic vases produced by such masters as Euthymides, the Berlin painter, or the Brygos painter.

One thinks of the world's greatest draughtsmen, Leonardo, Raphael, Dürer, Holbein, Rembrandt, Picasso, and sets beside their work a Brygan drawing. Without hesitation one is forced to admit that, working in a different medium with a different tradition, the Greek is technically their equal — and if you are among those who hold *Sōphrosynē* to be needful in art you may, perhaps, think him their better.

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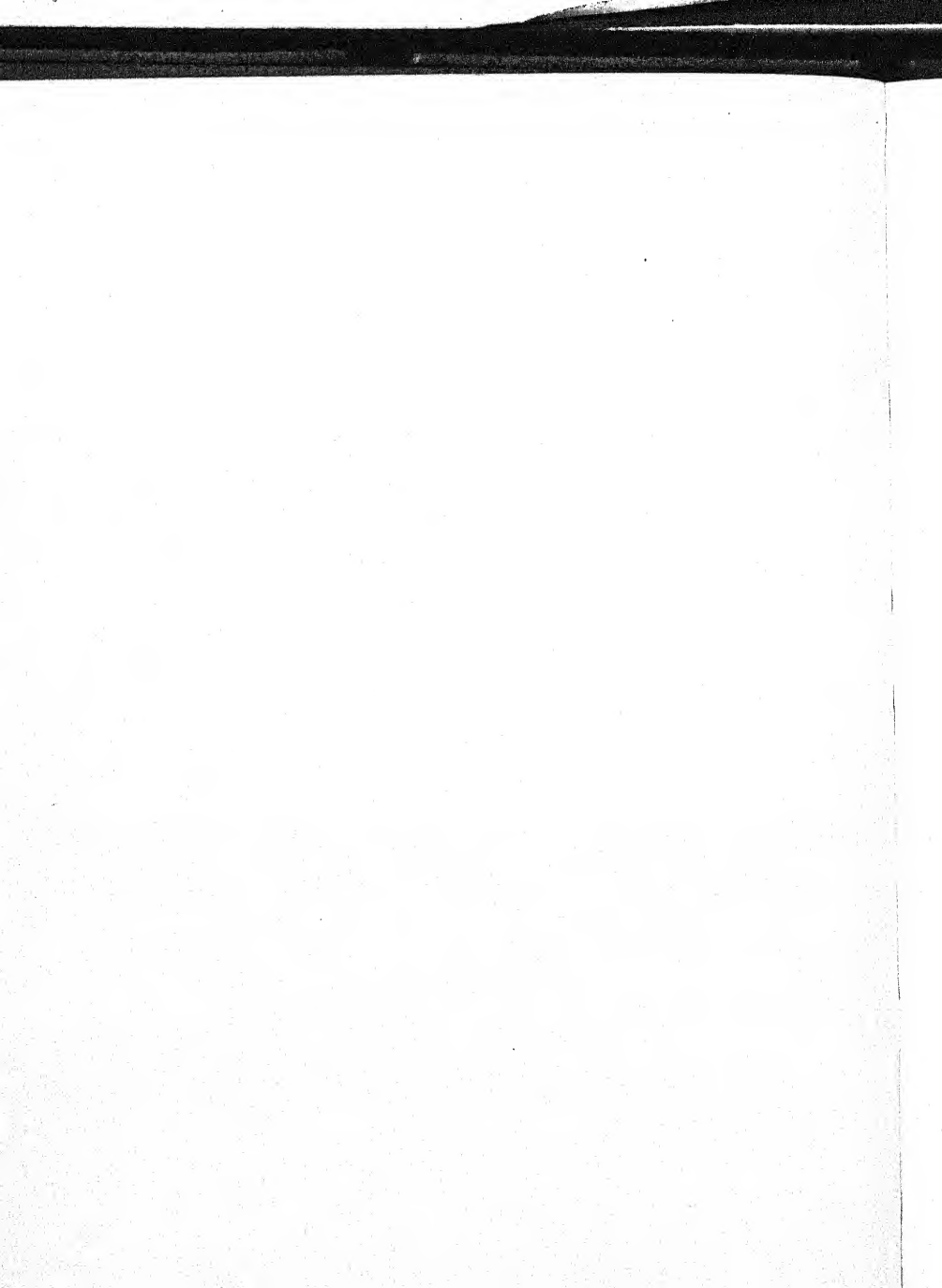
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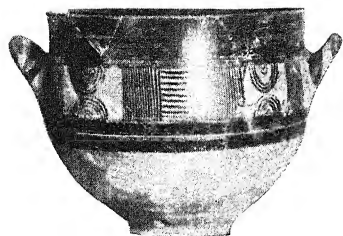
PLATES

PLATE I

MYCENAEAN AND GEOMETRIC POTTERY

- (a) A bowl from Mycenae, in Nauplia, of the granary class. Late Helladic III (late Mycenaean). *Ca.* 1300-1200 B.C. (See p. 10.)
- (b) An early geometric bowl from Mycenae, in Athens [*Arch. Jahrb.*, 1899, p. 85], of almost identical shape. Around the rim is a frieze of birds. *Ca.* 1000-900 B.C. (See p. 10.)
- (c) A geometric pyxis with lid from Boeotia, in Berlin [*ibid.*, 1888, p. 353], for comparison with
- (d) An Attic geometric pyxis of Dipylon style from Athens, in Berlin [*Ath. Mitt.*, 43, Pl. 1]. 900-800 B.C. (See p. 10.)

PLATE I



a



b



c



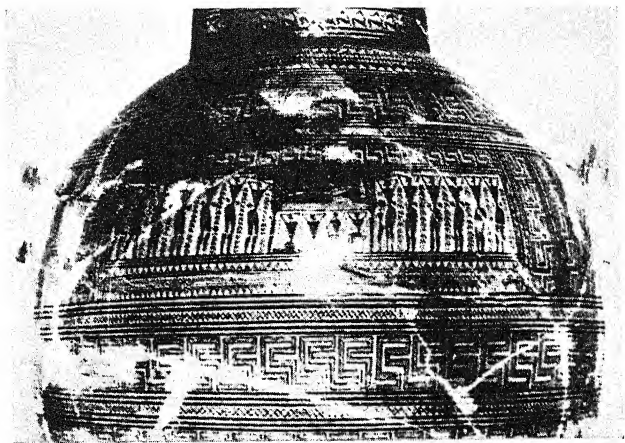
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PLATE 2

GEOMETRIC AND PHALERON WARE

(a) Part of a large geometric funeral vase of the Dipylon class, in Athens. In the centre of the long panel is the dead man laid out on a couch, a checkered pall above him. Under the couch are seated mourners, to right and to left of it standing mourners, all beating their heads. The lowest band of ornament round the neck shows a frieze of kneeling goats or deer. 8th century B.C. (See p. 12.)

(b) Phaleron ware, a bowl in Munich. *Ca.* 700-600 B.C. Around the lip a procession of tall, slender chariot groups; on the body a long panel containing two big-faced tongue-rolling lions; waves, pot-hooks, plants and leaves of orientalisising pattern help to fill spaces in addition to angular geometric forms. Plastic snakes are on the handles and round the lip. (See p. 14.)



a



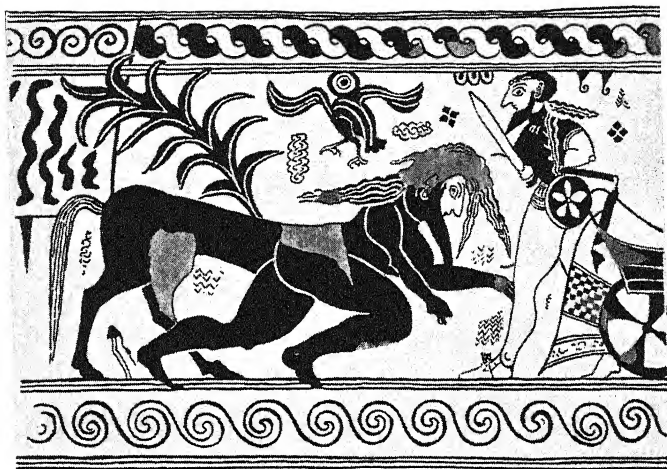
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PLATE 3

ORIENTAL INFLUENCES

(a) Part of the main frieze on a large amphora in New York; parts of the drawing restored. Herakles, his chariot behind him, has given a death-blow to a centaur who collapses. Orientalising motives predominate in the main figures, the target-headed bird, borders and ornaments. There are, however, survivals of the old Attic geometric style in the zigzags and the strange long-legged bird between the centaur's hind-legs. *Ca.* 630 B.C. (See p. 15.)

(b) A two-handled dish of Vourva ware type, in Cambridge. *Ca.* 600-560 B.C. The outside is shown and depicts four goats, three leopards, and a swan. On the inside is a sphinx. The decoration is akin to true black figure. (See p. 16.)



a

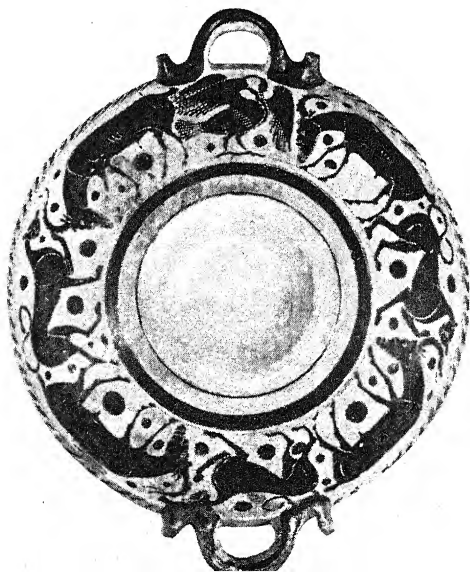


PLATE 4

TWO PAINTERS CONTRASTED

(a) The Primitive. Herakles killing Nessos, from a vase in Athens by the Nessos painter, *ca.* 600 B.C., a powerful, well-patterned composition. [*Ant. Denkm.*, Pl. 57.] (See pp. 15, 86.)

(b) The Decadent. The same subject drawn on the interior of a cup in Boston by Aristophanes, *ca.* 400 B.C., a prettily composed picture by "the nastiest vulgarian of the whole Kerameikos." [*F. R.*, Pl. 129.] (See p. 86.)



a



b

PLATE 5

KLEITIAS AND ERGOTIMOS (ca. 560-550 B.C.)

One of the handles of the François vase, the big volute-krater in Florence.

Above, the winged Artemis as *potnia theron* grasping a leopard and a stag.

Below, Ajax helmeted and mail-clad lifting on his shoulders the dead body of Achilles.

Under the handle, the lame Hephaistos riding on a donkey. He is one of the procession of gods travelling to the wedding of Peleus and Thetis. [*F. R.*, Pl. 2.] (See p. 18.)

PLATE 5

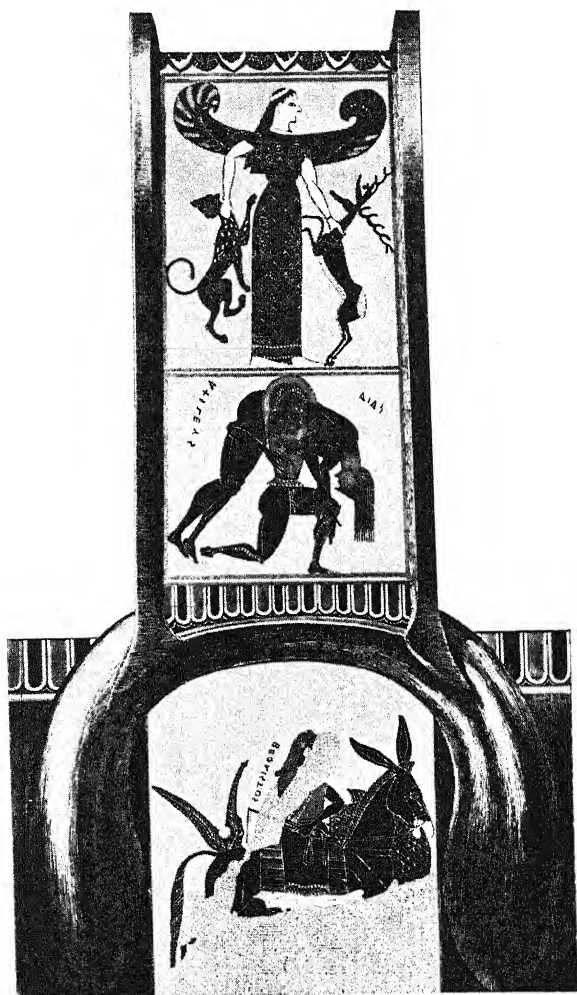


PLATE 6

ATTIC PANEL PAINTINGS

(a) A terra-cotta plaque, partly restored, by Exekias, now in Berlin. The scene represented is part of a funeral procession; mourners with their hands on their heads appear beside the chariot. The horses may be compared with the horse *Kyllaros* on the Vatican amphora by Exekias (Plate 9a). *Ca.* 550–525 B.C. (See p. 24.)

(b) A painted panel in the manner of the red-figure vase-painter Phintias, in the Acropolis Museum, Athens. The charging hoplite, who is painted in a rich sun-burnt brown, wears an Attic helmet and carries a shield with a seilen as device. He is labelled *Megakles Kalos*, but the first word has been partly erased in ancient times when someone endeavoured to substitute for it the name *Glaukytes*. Compare the vase-paintings of Phintias (Plates 14, 15). *Ca.* 510–500 B.C. (See p. 25.)

PLATE 6



a



PLATE 7

"LITTLE MASTER CUPS"

(a) A cup in Cambridge potted by Hermogenes, *ca.* 550 B.C., with a miniature painting of a chariot group. The shape is characteristic of the period. [*C. V. A.*, Cambridge, 1, Pl. 19, 1.] (See p. 25.)

(b) The interior of a cup in Munich by Exekias, *ca.* 550–525 B.C. Dionysos is sailing in a boat over the sea; a school of dolphins plays round the ship. Up and over the mast climbs a huge vine laden with grapes. [*F. R.*, Pl. 42.] (See p. 25.)

PLATE 7



a



b

PLATE 8

EXEKIAS (ca. 550-525 B.C.)

(a) From an amphora in Berlin signed by Exekias as potter. Herakles killing the triple giant Geryones; the nearest body of the giant is mortally wounded, as is the herdsman Eurytion lying upon the ground. The composition is to be compared with later pictures by Euphronios (Plates 17 and 18) of a fighting Herakles. [E. Pfuhl, *M. u. Z.*, III, 226.] (See p. 27.)

(b) From an amphora in Boulogne. Ajax, fixing his sword in the ground, preparing to throw himself upon it. Emotion is betrayed here for the first time in painting, for the face of Ajax is furrowed with grief. [J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-figure*, Pl. 7.] (See p. 29.)



a



b

PLATE 9

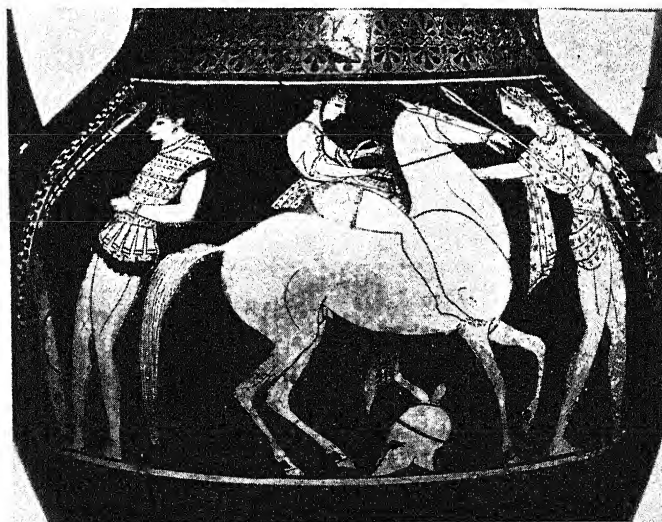
EXEKIAS AND THE ANDOKIDES PAINTER

(a) From an amphora by Exekias in the Vatican. This might be a scene from the daily life of an aristocratic Athenian family of the sixth century, but the characters are given heroic names. Polydeukes plays with a white dog; Leda offers a flower to Kastor, who is off for a ride on his horse Kyllaros; Tyndareos pats the horse's nose; a little boy brings along a chair, fresh clothing and an oil-flask. *Ca.* 550-525 B.C. [*F. R.*, Pl. 132.] (See p. 28.)

(b) From an amphora by the Andokides painter in the Louvre. White figures and black glaze. Three Amazons, the middle one on horseback. This vase, or another like it, perhaps gave to the painter the idea of reserving the red ground of the vase so that figures should appear light against a dark ground. *Ca.* 530 B.C. [*Photograph Girandon, Paris.*] (See p. 30.)



a



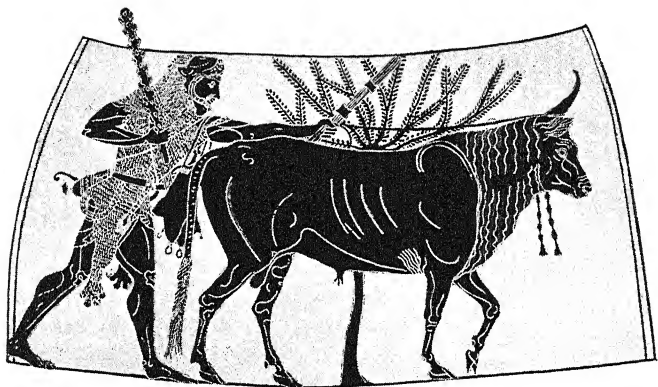
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PLATE IO

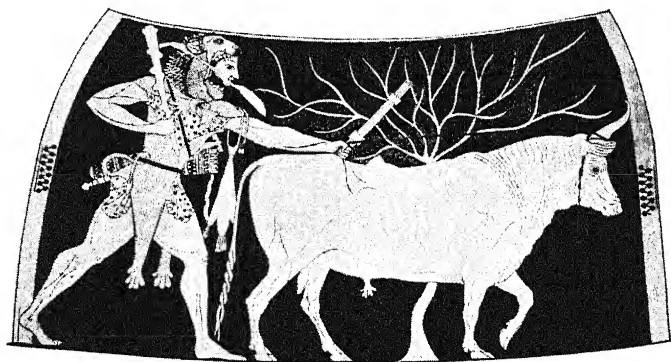
THE ANDOKIDES PAINTER (*ca.* 530-510 B.C.)

(*a, b*) Drawings from the two sides of an amphora in Boston depicting Herakles with the captive Cretan bull. *a* is assigned by Beazley (*Attic Black-figure*, p. 40) to the Lysipides painter, but it seems probable that this title will prove to be but another name for the Andokides painter who certainly painted *b*. The great similarity of the two pictures is remarkable. The black-figure version still shows the greater skill and firmness of line, but the painter is well on his way to a mastery of the new style. (See p. 30.)

PLATE IO



a



b

PLATE II

OLTOS (ca. 525-510 B.C.)

(a) From the outside of a large cup in Corneto. The gods in Olympos, Athena, Zeus, Ganymede, Hestia, Aphrodite and Ares are shown; the artist's signature is under the chair of Hestia. The delicacy of line and the sureness are remarkable.

(b) The tondo from the interior of the same cup, a formidable but tidy warrior charging into battle. Contrast the fugitive in the cup by Skythes (Plate 13c). [*Mon. d. Inst.*, x, Pls. 23, 24.] (See p. 33.)

PLATE II



a



b

PLATE 12

ΕΠΙΚΤΕΤΟΣ (*ca.* 525-500 B.C.)

The scenes on a cup by Epiktetos in the British Museum. Inside a boy playing the double flute and beating time with his left foot. Before him a dancing-girl clad in a leopard-skin and holding castanets.

Outside (above) Herakles throttling and clubbing Busiris, king of Egypt, who had planned to sacrifice the Greek. Egyptians, with carving-knife and flutes, libation-jug and lyre, flee in both directions. Outside (below) Athenian gentlemen at a feast. [*F. R.*, Pl. 73.] (See p. 34.)

PLATE 12

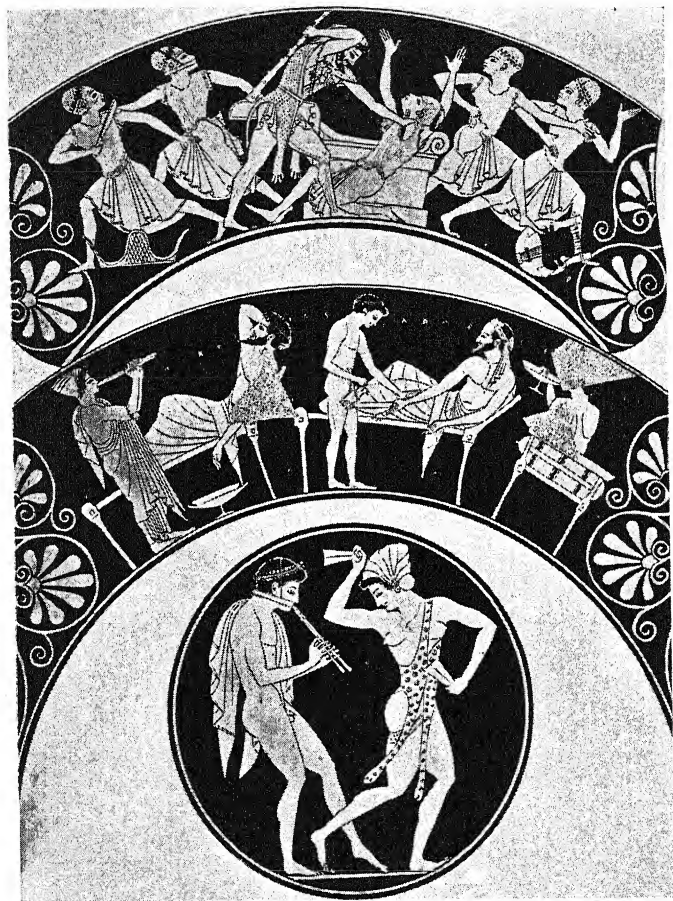


PLATE 13

EPIKTETOS AND SKYTHES (*ca.* 525-500 B.C.)

(*a, b*) Epiktetos; two dinner plates in the British Museum.

(*a*) A youth wearing a crested Corinthian helmet, cloak and greaves, standing behind his horse. (*b*) A bearded, cloaked and booted reveller stooping to lift a large cup of wine; on the near side of him a boy playing the double flute, a flute-case slung from his left shoulder. For sheer compositional value this cannot be bettered. (*c*) Skythes, the caricaturist; the interior scene from a cup in the Louvre. A soldier, cloak knotted round his waist, running away; he has snatched off his helmet and his spear points back at some pursuer. [E. Pfuhl, *M. u. Z.* III, 328, 329, 335.] (See p. 35.)

PLATE I3



a



b



c

PLATE 14

PHINTIAS (*ca.* 510-500 B.C.)

Part of the scene on an amphora by Phintias, in Corneto.

Kissine, a maenad caressing a panther-cub, and Simades, a seilen with double flute, are advancing towards Dionysos, who holds a vine and a kantharos. The eyelashes are carefully rendered. A part of the god's head is missing. [*F. R.*, Pl. 91.] (See p. 38.)



PLATE 15

PHINTIAS (ca. 510-500 B.C.)

The pictures display the skill of the painter Phintias, ca. 510-500 B.C., in anatomical drawing, which is apparent in spite of the artistic conventions employed.

On the right an athlete holding a discus on his left shoulder, from an amphora in the Louvre.

On the left a trial sketch by K. Reichhold in which this discus-thrower is equipped with a skeleton. Nothing is out of place. Note the position of clavicle, acromion process and scapula, of the bend of the humerus, radius and ulna; the olecranon process at the elbow and the head of the ulna at the wrist are well marked. Lower down the crest of Ilium and the great trochanter are marked, and at the knees and ankles a different placing of the interior lines indicates on the right leg the external condyle of the femur and the external malleolus, on the left leg the corresponding internal processes. [K. Reichhold, *Skizzenbuch*.] (See p. 39.)

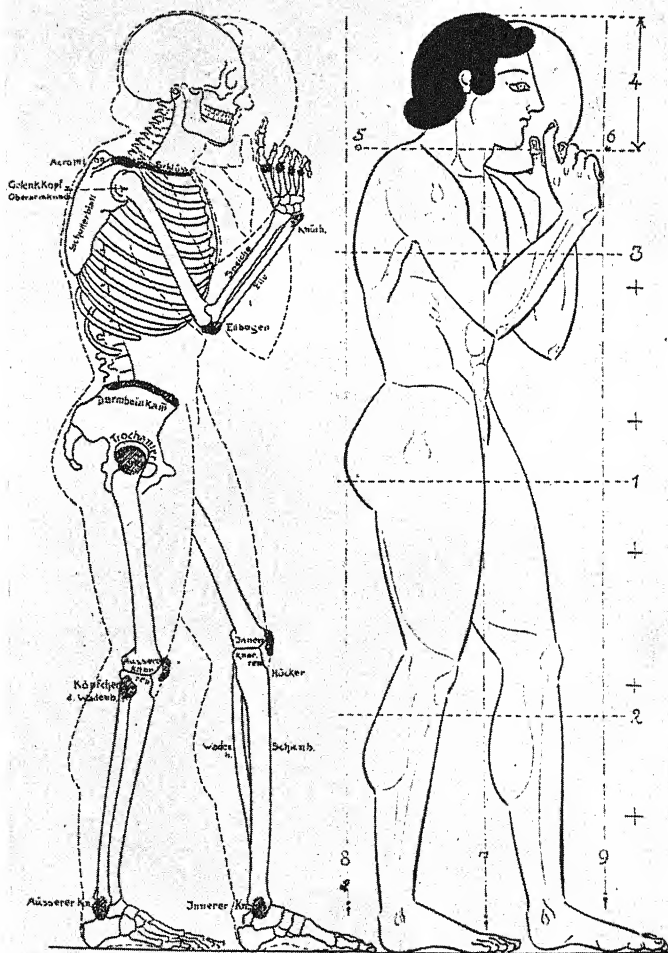


PLATE 16

EUPHRONIOS (*ca.* 510-500 B.C.)

From a kalyx krater in the Louvre. Herakles wrestling with Antaios. The hero, with hands locked in front of his face, is slowly choking the giant, whose gasping lips reveal his teeth. The giant's right hand rests limply on the ground. Three frightened nymphs and the panoply of Herakles fill in the background. All attention is, however, concentrated upon the central group. [*F. R.*, Pl. 92.] (See p. 40.)

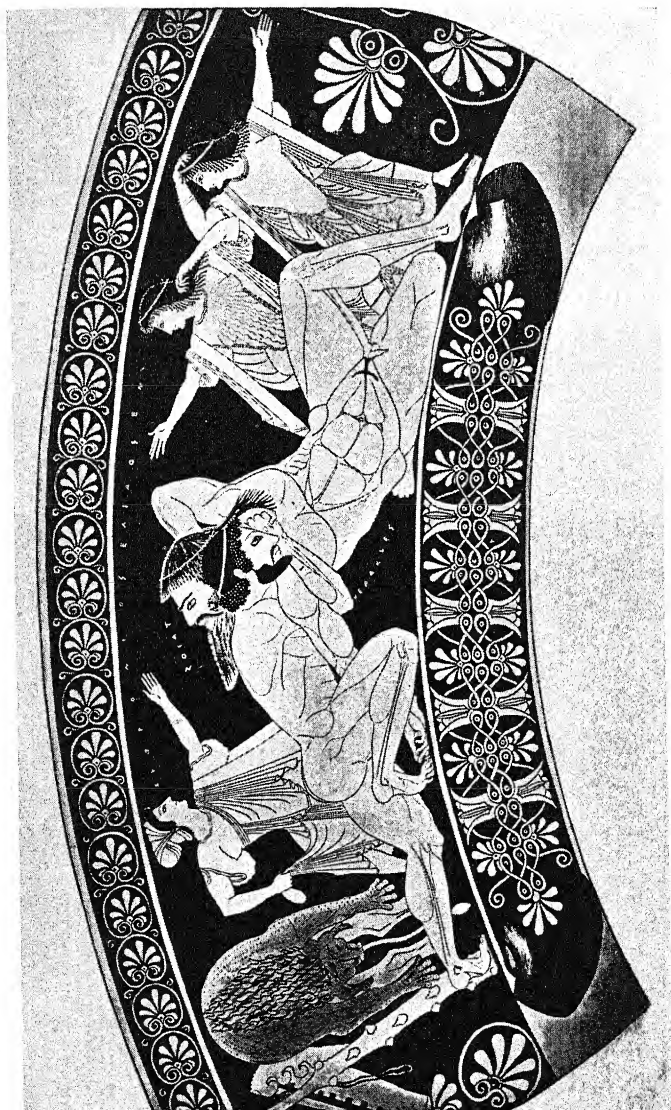


PLATE 17

EUPHRONIOS (*ca.* 510-500 B.C.)

From a volute krater in Arezzo. The neck is decorated with a frieze of revellers; five have wine vessels, two are dancing, four have musical instruments. The main scene shows Herakles (to be compared with Plate 8*a*) and Ajax Telamon attacking Amazons. Notable details are the pathos of the Amazon Kidoimē fallen beneath Herakles, the left leg and foot of the figure on the extreme right and the delicate drawing of hands and feet. A dilute brown wash is employed for the hero's lion-skin, one shield and borders of the linen shirts beneath the breastplates of two figures. *F. R.*, Pl. 61.] (See p. 41.)

PLATE 17

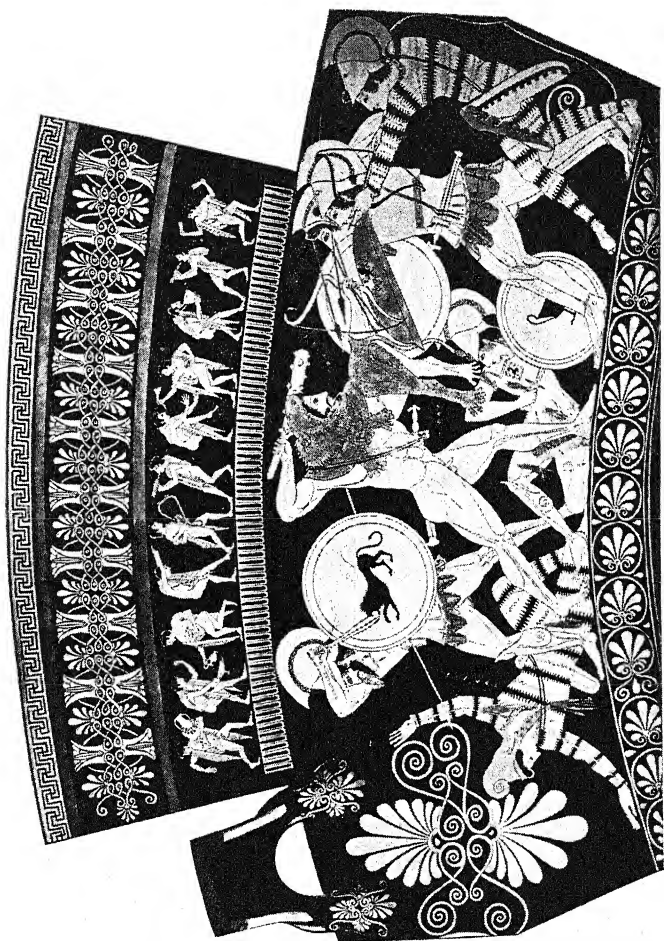


PLATE 18

EUPHRONIOS (*ca.* 510-500 B.C.)

From a drinking cup in Munich. On the outside (shown above and below) is the combat of Herakles and Geryones which may be compared with the older version on Plate 8*a*. The hero and the triple giant still preserve a similar attitude; the dying herdsman (below left under one handle) is very finely drawn. Above four armed followers of the hero are driving off the captured cattle, which may be compared with the bull by the Andokides painter (Plate 10). The central tondo from the interior of the cup depicts a young Athenian horseman in hat, cloak and boots. [*F. R.*, Pl. 22.] (See p. 42.)



ΠΑΡΥΛΙΝΟΣ

ΣΥΡΕΝΗ

PLATE 19

EUTHYMIDES (*ca.* 510-500 B.C.)

From an amphora by Euthymides in Munich.

(*a*) Theseus carrying off Korone, whom Helen tries to rescue; Peirithoos follows.

(*b*) Two girls exclaiming, "They have seen us, let's run!" hurry to join the others. Behind them an older man calls out, "Good luck, Theseus!" [*F. R.*, Pl. 33.] (See p. 45.)



a



b

PLATE 20

EUTHYMIDES (ca. 510-500 B.C.)

Drawings from figures on a neck-amphora in Castle Goluchow. On the left an ivy-wreathed youth pouring wine from a pointed amphora; on the right a seilen clearing one of the pipes of his double flute by blowing down it.

The drawings show the artist's great skill at depicting the human form with the utmost economy of line. Note especially the right leg and heel of the seilen. [J. D. Beazley, *Greek Vases in Poland*, Pl. 5.] (See p. 46.)

PLATE 20

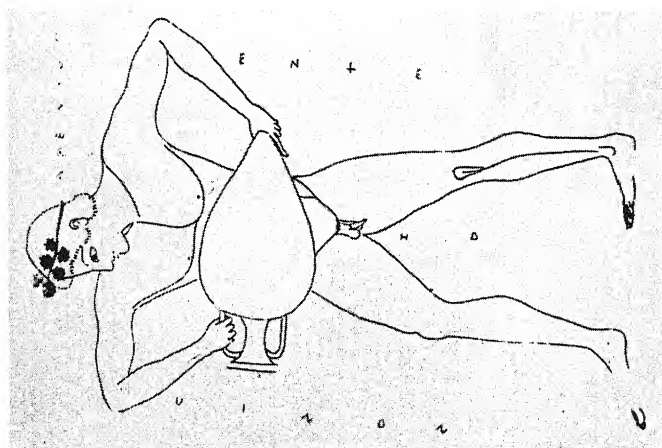
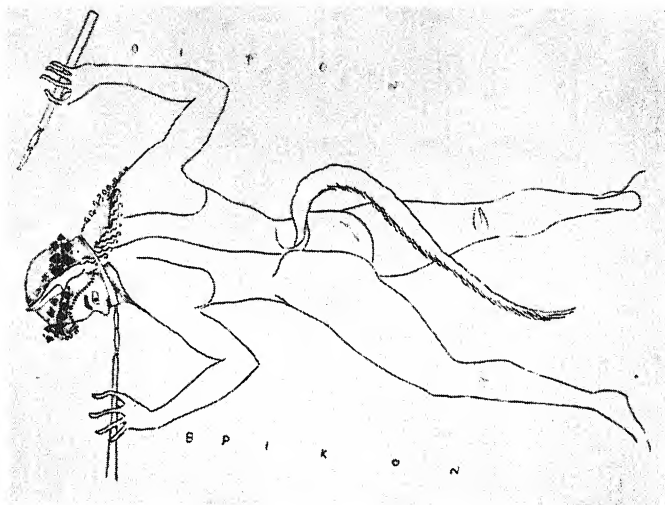
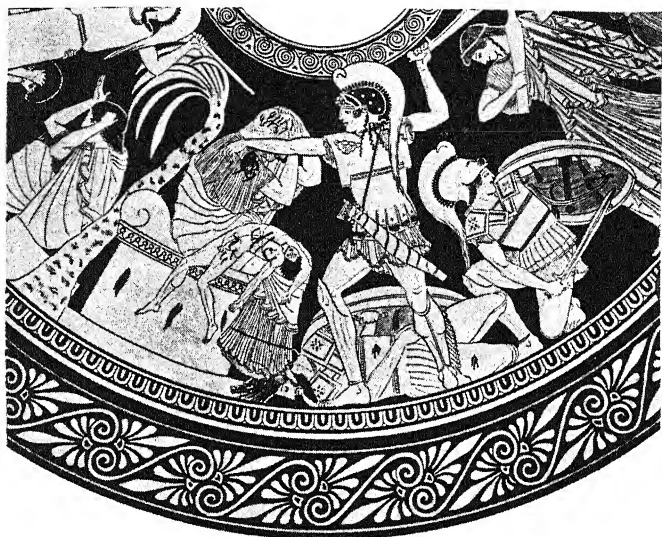


PLATE 21

THE KILLING OF PRIAM DEPICTED

(a) By the Kleophrades painter, *ca.* 510-480 B.C., on a hydria in Naples. The central part of the scene upon the shoulder of the vase shows the old king seated on the altar, his murdered grandson on his knee. Neoptolemos is about to slay Priam with his sword. Compare another group by the same painter, Plate 22*a*. (See p. 47.)

(b) By the Brygos painter, *ca.* 500-470 B.C., on the outside of a drinking cup in the Louvre. Here Neoptolemos, flinging away his spear, uses the corpse of the grandchild as a club to dash out the grandfather's brains. This treatment of the theme gives an impression of unparalleled fury. Parts of other cups by the same painter are figured on Plates 25, 26. [*F. R.*, Pls. 35 and 25.] (See p. 60.)



a



b

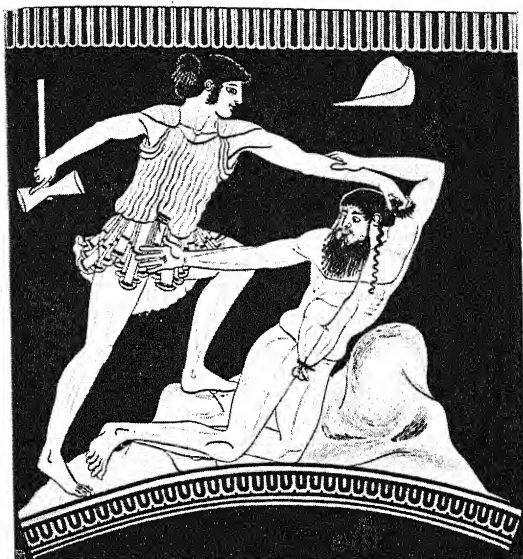
PLATE 22

CONTRASTS IN COMPOSITION

(a) From a stamnos in the British Museum by the Kleophrades painter, *ca.* 510-480 B.C.; Theseus armed with a double-axe about to kill the robber Skiron; compare the same artist's "death of Priam," Plate 21*a*. Noteworthy is the bearded three-quarter face, and the wash on the rocks used to produce shading. The felt cap in the air above Skiron merely fills a blank space. [*J. H. S.*, 30, Pl. 2.] (See p. 48.)

(b) From the centre of a cup by the Panaitios painter in the British Museum. A wheel-like composition showing two charging Amazons. The nearer has a Greek helmet, cuirass and greaves, and carries a spear and a shield with the device of a winged dolphin. The further Amazon has a "Phrygian" cap and a knitted, sleeved and trousered costume. She is armed with bow and arrow. *Ca.* 510-490 B.C. [*Photograph Professor Beazley.*] (See p. 56.)

PLATE 22



a



PLATE 23

THE BERLIN PAINTER (ca. 500-470 B.C.)

The scene from a large amphora in Berlin. A tall seilen with a lyre in his left and a little plektron in his right hand. Behind him is Hermes, wings on his felt cap and on his spotted leather boots, with an empty wine-jug in his right and a caduceus and wine-cup in his left hand. Between the two figures a shaded, dappled fawn looks up. Composition and control of line are admirable. [J. D. Beazley, *Der Berliner Maler*, Pl. 3.] (See p. 50.)

PLATE 23

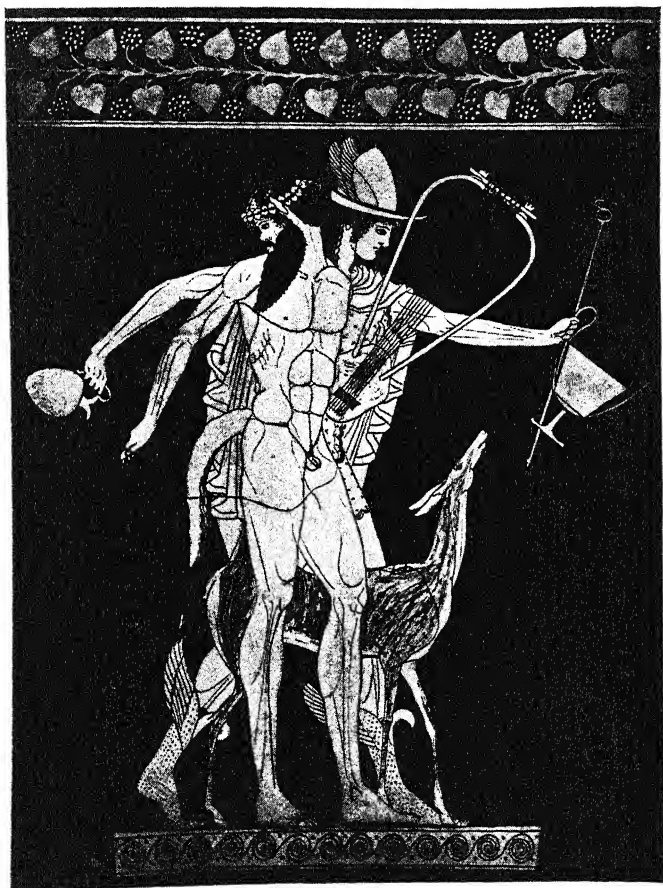


PLATE 24

THE PAN PAINTER (*ca.* 480-450 B.C.)

(*a*) From the bell krater in Boston. The death of Aktaion. Artemis clad in chiton, himation and a fawn-skin shoots at Aktaion, who is attacked by four of his dogs. He wears a cloak, a sword and hunting-boots. [*F. R.*, Pl. 118.] (See p. 53.)

(*b*) From a lekythos in the British Museum; "the boyhood of Apollo." In his left hand is a lyre with the plektron, used for plucking the strings, attached by a cord; in his right hand a bowl into which Artemis pours a drink of wine; she holds a bow, the case of which shows over her left shoulder. [*J. H. S.*, 32, Pl. 7.] (See p. 54.)



a



b

PLATE 25

THE BRYGOS PAINTER (*ca.* 500-470 B.C.)

From the outside of a kylix in the British Museum. Seilens introduced by Dionysos to Olympus.

(*a*) Two seilens try to seize the winged goddess Iris, a third hurries up and Dionysos stands by helpless.

(*b*) Four seilens advance upon Hera, whom Hermes seems powerless to protect; but Herakles, clad in knitted Thracian costume and lion-skin, advances to the rescue with club and bow. [*F. R.*, Pl. 47.] (See p. 59.)



a



b

PLATE 26

THE BRYGOS PAINTER (*ca.* 500-470 B.C.)

Scenes from a drinking cup in Würzburg. (*a*) Part of the outside; a scene of revelry. Second from the left is a tipsy bearded man, wearing a cloak and slippers, who is seizing a girl with his right hand, while with his left he tries to secure the large shallow drinking cup which she balances delicately in the palm of her hand. The gentle but determined action by which she pushes him back is one of the finest impressions ever achieved by an artist.

(*b*) The inside of the same cup has a picture intended to serve as a warning to the user of the drinking cup. The reveller is very sick, though fortunate that someone will hold his throbbing head. [*F. R.*, Pl. 50.] (See p. 61.)



a



PLATE 27

DURIS (*ca.* 500-460 B.C.)

(*a*) Part of the outside of a cup in Vienna. The Greeks recording their votes by placing pebbles on an altar before Athena. On the left Odysseus expresses delight that the majority favours the assignment of Achilles' armour to himself. On the right Ajax disappointed veils his head. [*F. R.*, Pl. 54.] (See p. 62.)

(*b*) From the interior of a cup in the Vatican, one of the later works of Duris. The golden fleece hangs on a tree and the dragon which guards it having swallowed Jason is forced by Athena to bring him up again. The details of feet and hands, of Athena's helmet, aegis and owl and especially the patterning of the monster are in the artist's best manner. (See p. 63.)



a



PLATE 28

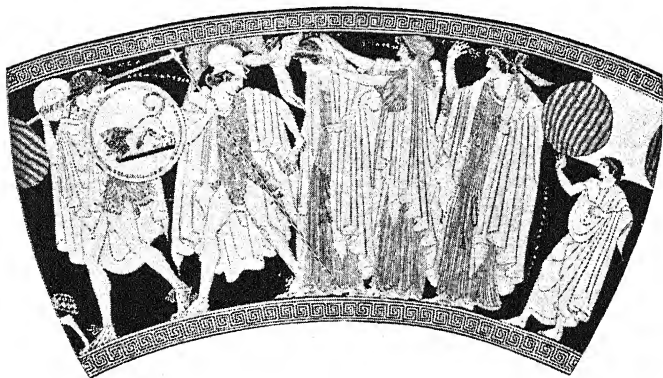
MAKRON (ca. 500-470 B.C.)

(a) From a skyphos in the British Museum. On one handle is the signature of the potter Hieron. Eumolpos is seated under one handle, Poseidon under the other; between are Zeus, Dionysos and Amphitrite, the last in the painter's most charming tradition. [E. Pfuhl, *M. u. Z.*, III, 437.] (See p. 63.)

(b) From one side of a skyphos in Boston made by the potter Hieron and painted by Makron. On the left Aeneas with a lion-device on his shield, followed by Paris, labelled "*Alexsandros*," leading off Helen, who is crowned by Eros and Aphrodite. Behind the latter is *Peitho* (Persuasion). Ca. 500-470 B.C. [*F. R.*, Pl. 85.] (See p. 64.)



a



b

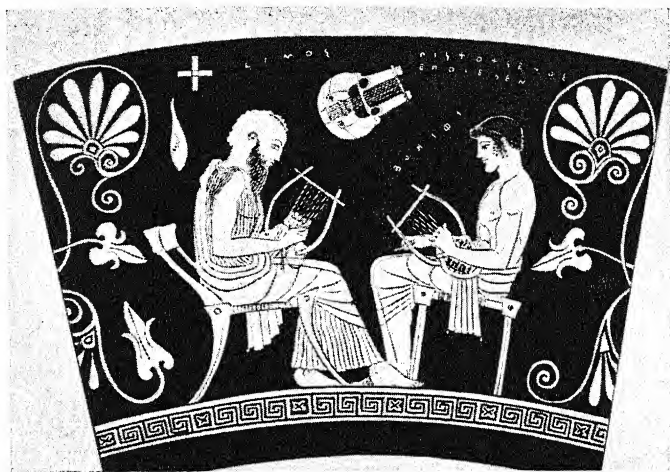
PLATE 29

THE PISTOXENOS PAINTER (ca. 480-460 B.C.)

From the two sides of a skyphos in Schwerin.

(a) Linos giving a music-lesson to Iphikles.

(b) The boy Herakles, carrying a long pointed arrow, advancing unwillingly to get his lesson. He is followed by an old wrinkled nurse, Geropso, who carries his lyre for him. [*Jahrbuch d. deutsch. archäol. Inst.*, 27, Pls. 7, 8.] (See p. 66.)



a



PLATE 30

THE PISTOXENOS PAINTER (*ca.* 480-460 B.C.)

(*a*) Fragments of a white-ground cup in Athens, by the Pistoxenos painter. Orpheus holds up his lyre to protect his head from the maenads, one of whom is partly preserved, a geometric type of animal tattooed on her arm. The head of Orpheus bears a marked resemblance to that of Apollo from the West Pediment at Olympia. [E. Pfuhl, *M. u. Z.*, III, 416.] (See p. 66.)

(*b*) From the interior of a cup in the Louvre. A boy on horseback with two spears. He wears a felt cap, a heavy embroidered cloak and top-boots. [*Photograph Professor Beazley.*] (See p. 67.)

PLATE 30



a



PLATE 31

THE PENTHESILEIA PAINTER (*ca.* 480-460 B.C.)

(*a*) Part of the interior scene from the big drinking cup in Munich with Achilles stabbing Penthesileia; and as he stabs he sees her face for the first time and falls in love. The pathos of the theme may be compared with that of the dying Amazon on the krater by Euphronios (Plate 17). By contrast the theme is inadequately handled a quarter of a century later (Plate 35*b*). [Reichhold, *Skizzenbuch.*] (See p. 69).

(*b*) Part of the exterior of a cup in Hamburg; boys and a pony. One of the most spirited drawings of a horse ever produced. Compare the more formal horses by Epiktetos and Euphronios (Plates 13*a*, 18). [*F. R.*, Pl. 56.] (See p. 70.)



a

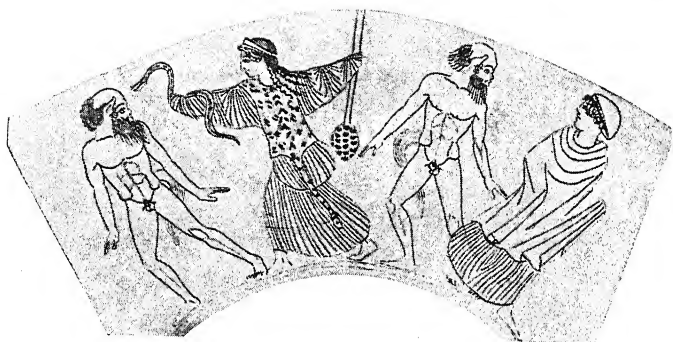


PLATE 32

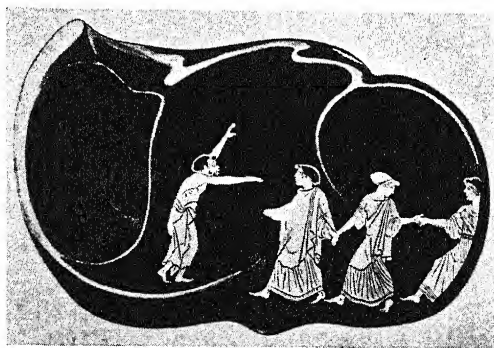
THE SOTADES PAINTER (ca. 470-450 B.C.)

(a) From a kantharos at Castle Goluchow. Two timid, bald-headed seilens are being scared away by a couple of maenads. The comic element is reminiscent of the art of Skythes (Plate 9c). [J. D. Beazley, *Greek Vases in Poland*, Pl. 16.] (See p. 72.)

(b, c) Two sides of an astragalos-shaped vase in the British Museum depicting a dance of girls suggesting little clouds. Before them is a small gesticulating choregos, or chorus-master. [*F. R.*, Pl. 136.] (See p. 71.)



a



b

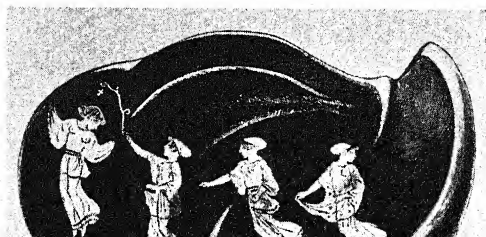


PLATE 33

THE NIOBID PAINTER (*ca.* 450 B.C.)

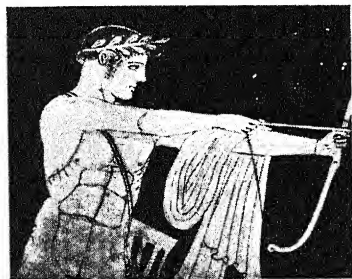
From a kalyx-krater in the Louvre.

(*a*) Athena, Herakles and a group of heroes, perhaps the Argonauts, disposed on different ground levels. The composition, influenced probably by contemporary fresco-painting, is unsatisfactory, being unsuited to the surface of a vase. [*F. R.*, Pl. 108.] (See p. 77.)

(*b, c*) Parts of single figures, Apollo and a dead son of Niobe, from the other side of the same vase. The Apollo shows the painter capable of fine draughtsmanship, but the three-quarter face of the Niobid is unsuccessful. *Ca.* 450 B.C. [*Corpus Vasorum*, Louvre, III.] (See p. 77.)



a



b



c

PLATE 34

THE ACHILLES PAINTER AND POLYGNOTOS
(*ca.* 460-430 B.C.)

(*a*) From a large loutrophoros in Philadelphia, by the Achilles painter. The helmeted warrior is drawn with a fine economy of line which is reminiscent of the Berlin painter's work (compare Plate 23). It is a battle scene which runs right round the vase. (See p. 79.)

(*b*) Part of a wedding scene from a loutrophoros in Toronto by Polygnotos, whose work is here seen at its best. The figures are elongated in order to conform to the shape of the vase. The bridegroom holds the bride by her wrist; in her right hand she holds a fruit; bridesmaids carry torches. (See p. 82.)



a



PLATE 35

POLYGNOTOS AND THE CHICAGO PAINTER
(ca. 450-430 B.C.)

(a) From a stamnos in Boston by the Chicago painter; a slender flute girl, quite charmingly drawn, but lacking the character of the girls drawn by the Brygos painter (Plate 26), Makron (Plate 28) or the Sotades painter (PLATE 32). [J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figure Vases in American Museums*, Fig. 94B.] (See p. 78.)

(b) From an amphora by Polygnotos in the British Museum. The drawing is less careful than on the Toronto vase (Plate 34b); the theme is cheapened by comparison with earlier work (Plates 17, 31a); the three-quarter face head was more successfully rendered by the Kleophrades painter (Plate 22a). [*C. V. A.*, Brit. Mus., 3, Pls. 12, 3.] (See p. 82.)

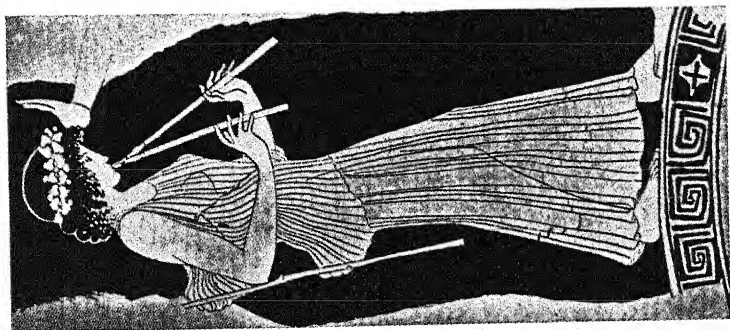
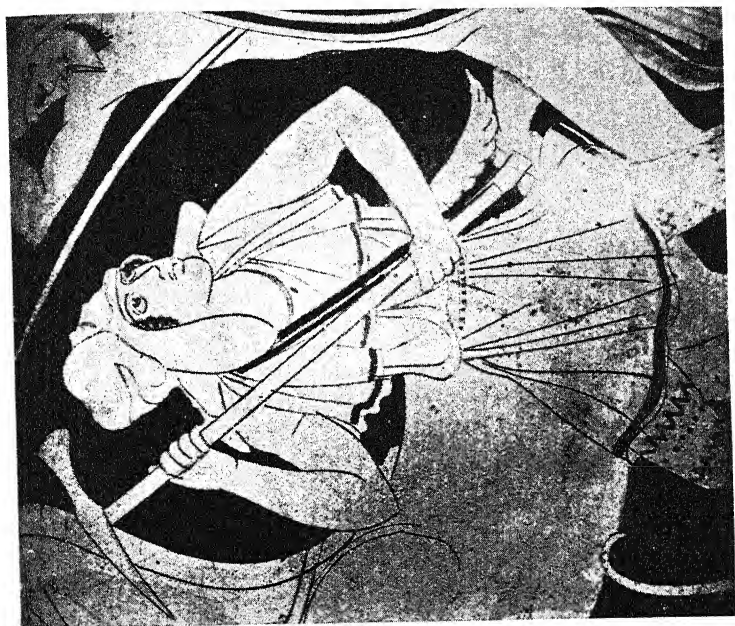


PLATE 36

THE CHICAGO AND LYKAON PAINTERS
(ca. 450-430 B.C.)

(a) A drawing from a stamnos in Cracow by the Chicago painter. [J. D. Beazley, *Greek Vases in Poland*, Pl. 22.] (See p. 78.)

(b) From a bell krater in Castle Goluchow by the Lykaon painter. The drawings are to be contrasted with those of Euthymides (Plate 20) in order to appreciate the change in Attic art. Skill and a Picasso-like fineness of line are still present; strength and purposefulness have departed. Self-control has been replaced by self-consciousness. [J. D. Beazley, *Greek Vases in Poland*, Pl. 25.] (See p. 83).

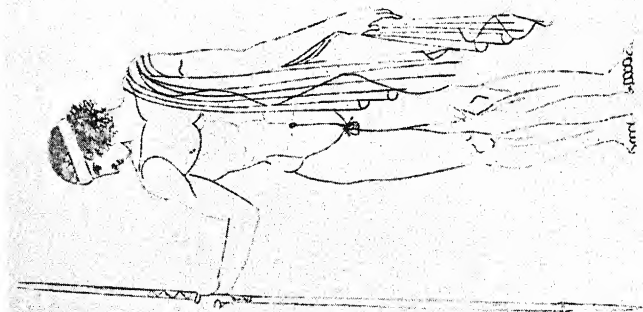
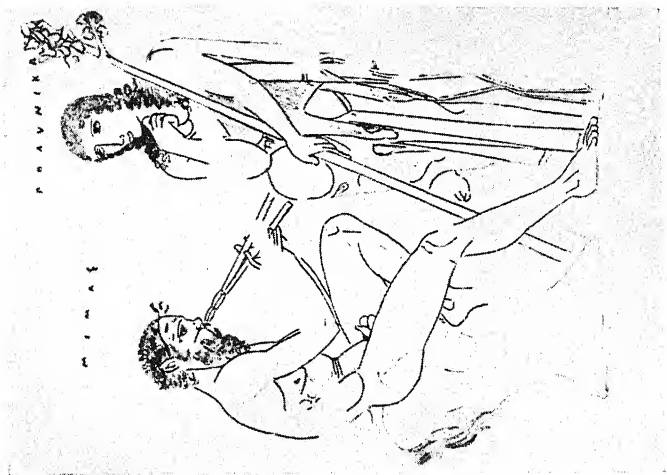


PLATE 37

THE MEIDAS PAINTER (*ca.* 410 B.C.)

From a hydria in the British Museum. Above, from left to right Polydeukes with Elera in his chariot, a cult statue, the charioteer Chrysippos. On the middle zone, Zeus, a girl, Chryseis, Aphrodite, Kastor seizing Eriphyle. Below, Klytios, Hygieia, Asterope, Chrysothemis, Lipara, Herakles and Iolaos. [*F. R.*, Pl. 8.] (See p. 84.)

